

*The*  
AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

*A Quarterly*

*Vol. LVI, No 1*

*October, 1950*

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## Reviews of Books

### General History

Wittmann, HISTORY: A GUIDE TO PEACE, by Ralph Haswell Lutz . . . . .	65
Von Laue, LEOPOLD RANKE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, by Gerhard Masur . . . . .	67
Earle, NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM: ESSAYS INSCRIBED TO CARL- TON J. H. HAYES, by Sidney B. Fay . . . . .	69
Petrie, EARLIER DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1492-1713, and DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1713-1933, by Quincy Wright . . . . .	70
Scott, THE UNITED STATES AND SCANDINAVIA, by Halvdan Koht . . . . .	73
Manuel, THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN-PALESTINE RELATIONS, by Carl J. Friedrich . . . . .	75
Mourin, LES TENTATIVES DE PAIX DANS LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE (1939-45), by Raymond J. Sontag . . . . .	76
Sykes, A HISTORY OF EXPLORATION, by George Kish . . . . .	77
Singer, A HISTORY OF BIOLOGY, by Mary L. Austin . . . . .	78
Deerr, THE HISTORY OF SUGAR, by J. Preston Moore . . . . .	80

### Ancient and Medieval History

Jacoby, ATTHIS: THE LOCAL CHRONICLES OF ANCIENT ATHENS, by Truesdell S. Brown . . . . .	81
Vasiliev, JUSTIN THE FIRST, by Peter Charanis . . . . .	82
Kelly, ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE AND THE FOUR KINGS; Walker, ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE, by A. C. Krey . . . . .	84
Renouard, LES HOMMES D'AFFAIRES ITALIENS DU MOYEN AGE, by Raymond de Roover . . . . .	87
Kirsch, THE JEWS IN MEDIEVAL GERMANY, by Edgar N. Johnson . . . . .	88
Shannon, THE POPES AND HERESY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, by Richard W. Emery . . . . .	90
Ullman, MEDIEVAL PAPALISM, by Wilfrid Parsons . . . . .	91
Prescott, FRIAR FELIX AT LARGE, by Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan . . . . .	92

### Modern European History

Bowe, THE UNITY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, by W. C. Buthman . . . . .	93
Cremeans, THE RECEPTION OF CALVINISTIC THOUGHT IN ENGLAND, by F. M. Powicke . . . . .	95
Lloyd, QUAKER SOCIAL HISTORY, 1669-1738, by Frederick B. Tolles . . . . .	96
Wilkinson, BERMUDA IN THE OLD EMPIRE, by Lowell Ragatz . . . . .	97
Williams, A HISTORY OF MODERN WALES, by G. P. Jones . . . . .	98

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the Review, and books for review, should be sent to the Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D.C.

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Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-Office  
at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

\* \* \* \* *Table of Contents* \* \* \* \*

Vol. LVI, No. 1

October, 1950

*Articles*

THE MYTH OF THE UNGUARDED FRONTIER, 1815-1871

*C. P. Stacey*

1

THE AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE, 1934-1940

*Frederick Rudolph*

19

THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES OF POSTWAR GERMANY

*Lester K. Born*

34

*Notes and Suggestions*

FREDERICK LAW OLMTED AND THE WESTERN TEXAS  
FREE-SOIL MOVEMENT

*Laura Wood Roper*

58

*Reviews of Books*

(See inside cover pages)

65

*Other Recent Publications*

166

*Historical News*

248



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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Vol. LVI, No. 1*

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## The Myth of the Unguarded Frontier 1815-1871

C. P. STACEY

### I

THE "undefended border" between Canada and the United States has long been a favorite text for orators and journalists. It has become, in fact, a popular legend, and like most such legends has produced some distortion of historic fact. In particular, there has been a tendency to assume that the existing happy relationship between the two countries is of much longer standing than is actually the case. This is a pity; for the most significant thing about that relationship is its slow and difficult evolution from a very different state of affairs.<sup>1</sup>

The still relatively undeveloped state of Canadian-American studies is

<sup>1</sup> The material in this article is drawn from a study tentatively entitled "Armament and Disarmament in North America" which the writer was asked to contribute to the series "The Relations of Canada and the United States" (New Haven, Yale University Press; Toronto, Ryerson Press). The work was interrupted, when far advanced, by his entering the army in 1940. On returning from active service he found that the series' sponsors had closed it and no longer required his volume. As other work now makes it difficult for him to complete and edit the manuscript at this time, he offers one part of it in summary form.

### I

reflected in a tendency on the part of scholars to accept the legend as history, and in particular to accept the Rush-Bagot naval agreement of 1817 (which has received much uncritical admiration in this connection) as the beginning of the new era. One recent account of the relations of the two countries contains the following passage:

Although no mention of fortifications was made in this agreement, they were inevitably affected by its very nature. The need to maintain naval establishments now virtually disappeared, and as their defenses were dismantled, so were those of the other forts which guarded strategic points along the frontier. The undefended boundary, if not the actual peace which it henceforth enjoyed, was largely the creation of the Rush-Bagot agreement.<sup>2</sup>

The book quoted does not claim to be a product of original investigation, and this statement must be blamed upon the inadequacy of the monographic material available to the author. It is in fact entirely unfounded. The naval agreement had no influence whatever upon border fortifications (even those of the naval stations), and it was followed, on the Canadian side particularly, by an intensification rather than a slackening of general military measures. The building of border fortifications on both sides actually ended not in 1817 but in 1872; before the latter year the "unfortified frontier" is pure myth. For more than half a century after Richard Rush and Sir Charles Bagot exchanged their notes, war between Britain and the United States was always considered possible and sometimes considered probable, and military and diplomatic calculations were made accordingly.

## II

When the news of the treaty signed at Ghent in 1814 reached America, few people on either side of the border were so optimistic as to believe that the "peace and amity" which it established were to be permanent; and on both sides military precautions were put in hand. The British authorities in particular, who had shown at Ghent an awareness of the strategic problems of Canada which was in marked contrast with their total neglect of such matters during the negotiation of the treaty of 1783,<sup>3</sup> now began a long succession of measures incorporating the "lessons learned" during the war and providing against further American "aggression." In 1815 the decision was

<sup>2</sup> Edgar W. McInnis, *The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (New York, 1942), p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Castlereagh's appreciation of the situation is reflected in his instructions to the British commissioners (*Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers, of Viscount Castlereagh . . . edited by his brother, Charles William Vane, Marquess of Londonderry*, Third Series, *Military and Diplomatic* [London, 1853], II, 67-91). British indifference in 1783 appeared particularly in the failure to provide, beyond doubt, for the secure possession of the one overland route between Halifax and Quebec—the Temiscouata portage.



taken to maintain in British North America a much larger regular garrison than in 1812;<sup>4</sup> and when (apparently in response to criticisms of the size of the peace establishment heard in Parliament) the force was reduced in 1817, the governor-in-chief was reminded at the same time of the desirability of improving the militia.<sup>5</sup> A settlement policy, designed to strengthen the loyal population of the provinces, was adopted;<sup>6</sup> and it is interesting and amusing to note that, although care was taken to direct settlers to locations of military importance—notably the line of the proposed Rideau Canal—the authorities took the view that where tracts of wilderness lay upon the border it was undesirable to settle them; the frontier region was to be left “as much as possible in a State of Nature” as a defense against the United States.<sup>7</sup> This policy had to be abandoned in 1821, when it was reported that these lands were being occupied by squatters and becoming a refuge for criminals.<sup>8</sup>

The war had shown that the defense of Canada was primarily a problem in communications; the improvement of the routes from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes area was accordingly a basic object of British military policy in the colonies after 1815, and much money was devoted to it. The imperial government made a contribution to the cost of the Lachine Canal (opened in 1824), which was a significant stage in the canalization of the St. Lawrence;<sup>9</sup> but London's interest in this project was probably mainly the result of its relationship to another—the establishment of a new canal line, remote from the frontier, by way of the Ottawa River and the Rideau Lakes to Lake Ontario. The Lachine Canal was a necessary part of this system too. The origins of the great Rideau enterprise are directly connected with the American plan, formed early in 1815, to strike at the exposed St. Lawrence communication in the event of there being a campaign that year; and every British officer who considered Canadian defensive problems during the next decade reported that a water communication independent of the international section of the St. Lawrence was a fundamental requirement. The canalization of the Ottawa began, under military auspices, in

<sup>4</sup> See the debate in the House of Lords, Mar. 15, 1816, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, XXXIII, 305 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bathurst to Sherbrooke, Feb. 5, 1817, Public Archives of Canada, series G, vol. 9, pp. 25-29. On the criticisms, see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, XXXIII, 305 ff., 376-78, 567-91, also *The Annual Register . . . for the Year 1816*, chap. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America 1783-1837* (Toronto, 1928).

<sup>7</sup> Bathurst to Sherbrooke, July 1, 1816, Public Archives of Canada, series G, vol. 8, pp. 103-108.

<sup>8</sup> Dalhousie to Bathurst, Apr. 24, 1821, *ibid.*, series Q, vol. 157, part 1, pp. 182-83.

<sup>9</sup> M. J. Patton, “Shipping and Canals,” in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914-17), X, 509-10. On the imperial contribution (£12,000), see Bathurst to Maitland, Sept. 30, 1826, in *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada*, Sess. 1826-27, p. 25.

1819, but the more expensive Rideau leg of the undertaking was delayed. In 1825 a commission headed by Major General Sir James Carmichael Smyth, which was sent out by the duke of Wellington to report on the defenses of British North America, again emphasized the scheme's importance and at the same time declared, very truly, that there was no hope of its being carried out by local resources. The province of Upper Canada was poor and therefore considered opulence much more important than defense; the improvement of the St. Lawrence was more desirable, in the eyes of local politicians, than this "back-water" communication. The British government accordingly undertook the task itself. The canal was built in 1826-32, and the cost of the whole project—over one million pounds—was vastly greater than the estimate.<sup>10</sup> The reaction to this, in a House of Commons becoming both more business-minded and more dubious of the value of colonies, was so hostile that ministers feared to ask Parliament for money for more than a fraction of the fortifications recommended by Carmichael Smyth.<sup>11</sup> The Ottawa-Rideau canal system remained the greatest and most expensive military work ever executed by the British government in North America.

Fortifications, it is clear, were not the only element, and were perhaps not even the most important one, in the British strategic scheme in Canada; but they were an essential part of it, and the period following the Treaty of Ghent was the most active fort-building period in Canadian history. True, in 1815 the Colonial Office sent out orders that no works were to be undertaken "until His Majesty's Government shall have decided upon some general plan for the future defence of the Province";<sup>12</sup> but in 1818 a new governor-in-chief, the duke of Richmond, recommended a comprehensive program which, thanks in great part to Wellington's support, was approved and in due course carried into effect. Its most important feature—apart from the Ottawa-Rideau canals, which Richmond strongly advocated—was a permanent citadel for Quebec; and the imposing work still existing was constructed there in 1820-31, at a cost of some £236,500 to the British taxpayer.<sup>13</sup> For some years past, officers had been recommending strengthening Isle-aux-Noix on the Richelieu, the British naval base for Lake Champlain; and in 1819 work

<sup>10</sup> The whole episode is reviewed in C. P. Stacey, "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign," *American Historical Review*, XLVI (January, 1941), 348-58. The total given to Parliament in 1835 (£1,069,026) evidently includes the imperial contribution to the Lachine and Welland canals.

<sup>11</sup> Two select committees considered the Rideau Canal operation. See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1830-31, III, no. 395, and 1831-32, V, no. 570.

<sup>12</sup> Bathurst to Drummond (extract), Oct. 10, 1815, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 515, p. 69.

<sup>13</sup> C. P. Stacey, "A Note on the Citadel of Quebec," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX (December, 1948), 387-92.

began on a new fort, Fort Lennox, to replace the old defenses.<sup>14</sup> By 1825, £57,688 had been expended here.<sup>15</sup> (So much for the theory that the agreement of 1817 led to the dismantling of the defenses of the naval harbors!) Another project recommended by Richmond, though initiated earlier, was the establishment of a defended supply depot on St. Helen's Island, Montreal; the island was acquired in 1817, and the construction of "bombproof" storehouses began in 1819.<sup>16</sup> Only rudimentary fortifications were provided, however, and Montreal remained a permanent weak link in the chain of Canadian defense. At Kingston, the naval base on Lake Ontario, improvements in the fortifications were discussed, and some were actually authorized; but the action taken at this period was limited to repairs and to the construction of barracks and other buildings.<sup>17</sup>

### III

While all this was going on in Canada, the Americans were not idle. Their strategic position, however, was quite different from that of the British in Canada. Physical facts, emphasized by the experience of 1812-14, made it evident that any new Anglo-American war would be fought on two main fronts: the Canadian border and the United States Atlantic seaboard. On the former of these the United States, with its great numerical superiority and a considerable superiority to the British provinces in industrial organization and internal communications, had great advantages; British strategists universally recognized that on the border British operations must be basically defensive. The British, as locally the weaker party, had far more need for fortifications and for artificial preparations generally.

On the seaboard, conditions were reversed. Here the Royal Navy, with its convenient dockyards at Halifax and Bermuda, could bring its full strength to bear; and the events of the war, including the raid on Washington, showed how greatly this could embarrass the United States. Here was the front where Britain could act offensively; here, accordingly, not on the border, was where the United States must concentrate its defensive preparations.<sup>18</sup> An act of

<sup>14</sup> For plans of old and new works, see "Plan of Isle aux Noix," signed by Lt. Col. G. Nicolls, Apr. 27, 1816, Public Archives of Canada, Map Division. For work done in 1819, endorsed "Estimate for the construction of works of Fortifications, Barracks & c . . . for the year 1819," Oct. 20, 1818, *ibid.*, series C, vol. 401, pp. 98-99, and cf. Durnford to Military Secretary, Nov. 9, 1819, *ibid.*, vol. 404, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> "Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington . . . by a Commission of which M. General Sir James Carmichael Smyth was President . . . 1825," *ibid.*, Map Division, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Richmond to Bathurst, Nov. 5, 1818, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 1247, p. 5; *ibid.*, vol. 414, p. 64, note in fortification estimates for 1823.

<sup>17</sup> See the fortification estimates for successive years, *ibid.*, vols. 401, 407, 408, 409, and 414; and especially vol. 410, p. 29, Durnford to Military Secretary, Oct. 2, 1821, and enclosures.

<sup>18</sup> British strategic thinking is particularly clearly reflected in the recommendations of Car-

March 3, 1815, provided \$400,000 for fortifications; another of April 29, 1816, appropriated \$838,000. A series of large and formidable forts now began to rise along the coasts where the British ships of war had ranged so freely a few years before.<sup>19</sup> One of the greatest monuments of this program is Fort or Fortress Monroe at Hampton Roads, with its 63-acre extent, its wartime garrison of 2,700 men and its 412 guns<sup>20</sup>—impressive evidence of the respect of postwar Congresses for the British fleet. But of \$8,250,000 appropriated for fortifications from 1816 to 1829, inclusive,<sup>21</sup> not more than \$208,000 appears to have been spent on the Canadian border.<sup>22</sup> This is the measure of the confidence with which Washington regarded the prospect of further operations in that area. It was not, however, entirely neglected. In the period immediately following the peace, a large proportion of the United States Army was stationed along the border;<sup>23</sup> but as years passed the demands of the Indian frontier drew troops away, until in 1823 fewer than 750 of the diminished establishment of 6,183, all ranks, were in posts on the Canadian border.<sup>24</sup>

From 1815 until 1821 military affairs on the American side of the border were the concern of Major General Jacob Brown as commander of the Northern Division. Brown had been the designated commander of the force intended to operate against Canada, in the unfought campaign of 1815, on the sound plan of severing the essential British line of communication by the St. Lawrence.<sup>25</sup> This conception continued to dominate Brown's strategic thinking,<sup>26</sup> and the major measures which he proposed were all related to it. The most important of these was the construction of a fortress on the American bank of the international section of the river, a project often recommended but never carried out. He was also interested, however, in the improvement of road communications to facilitate operations on the St. Lawrence, and in this respect some practical results were achieved.<sup>27</sup> Brown likewise attached

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michael Smyth's commission (note 15, above); see James J. Talman, ed., "A Secret Military Document, 1825," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (January, 1933), 295-300. The American situation is outlined not less clearly in a memorandum of Secretary of War Lewis Cass to President Jackson, Apr. 7, 1836, Adjutant General's Office records (Secretary of War's Letter-Books), no. 304, pp. 124-61. These records were still at the War Department when the writer examined them, but are now presumably in the National Archives.

<sup>19</sup> George W. Cullum, *Campaigns of the War of 1812-5 . . . with Brief Biographies of the American Engineers* (New York, 1879), p. 84.

<sup>20</sup> Cass to Jackson, Apr. 7, 1836 (above, note 18).

<sup>21</sup> *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, IV, 305.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 48 ff. The items attributed to "Plattsburg" must be for Rouse's Point.

<sup>23</sup> On March 6, 1816, there were three regiments of infantry, 530 artillerymen, and two companies of the rifle regiment cantoned along the boundary (*Niles' Weekly Register*, Mar. 23, 1816).

<sup>24</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Military Affairs*, II, 558. The figure given does not include the garrison of Fort Howard, Green Bay.

<sup>25</sup> Stacey, "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign" (above, note 10).

<sup>26</sup> See particularly his letter to Calhoun, Sept. 5, 1819, in Jacob Brown Official Letter-Book No. 2, Library of Congress, pp. 154-55.

<sup>27</sup> Details in Stacey, "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign."



importance to a military road "from the heart of Ohio" to Detroit<sup>28</sup>—providing against a future American commander encountering the same tribulations that had beset Hull in 1812. This too was built.<sup>29</sup>

It was the good fortune of American strategists that on their side of the border commerce and defense went hand in hand. In Canada the communications essential to the defense of the country were in general quite distinct from those most important to trade, with the consequence that the former, if built at all, had to be built at the expense of the British government. In the United States mere economic progress produced, as a by-product, great military advantages. This was very notably the case with the New York canal enterprises of the 1820's. The British commissioners of 1825 reported that there were three lines of operation open to the Americans: that by Lake Champlain; that against the Niagara frontier; and that toward Kingston.<sup>30</sup> All three were served by new canals, either already in existence or about to be undertaken: the first by the Champlain Canal, the second by the Erie Canal (both authorized by a New York State law of 1817), and the third by the Oswego Canal, connecting the Erie with Lake Ontario and completed in 1828.<sup>31</sup> These commercial routes were also the great American military lines of communication; and they were improved without any intervention by the War Department. The manner in which the latter's interests were served is indicated by the fact that the Champlain Canal actually passed through the grounds of the United States arsenal at Watervliet, New York, just north of Troy. It is not surprising to find that steps were taken, soon after the completion of the canal, to enlarge this establishment, whose importance was now recognized as greatly enhanced.<sup>32</sup> Thanks to the three interconnected canals, the matériel stored or manufactured at Watervliet could now be moved to the border, either at Niagara, Oswego, or Lake Champlain, easily and expeditiously—a great contrast to the situation in 1812-14. The military resources of the New York City area were equally available.

Although the American authorities, as already noted, in general saw little need for fortifications along the border and spent little money there, there were exceptions. Brown recommended repairing and maintaining Fort

<sup>28</sup> Brown to Crawford, Nov. 30, 1815, Brown Letter-Book No. 1, pp. 398-401.

<sup>29</sup> Macomb to Calhoun, Nov. 2, 1818, "Report of the Secretary of War relative to Roads and Canals," *House Document* no. 87 (Jan. 7, 1819), 15 Cong., 2 sess., p. 13. The road connected Detroit with Fort Meigs.

<sup>30</sup> "Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington," pp. 1-5.

<sup>31</sup> Noble E. Whitford, *History of the Canal System of the State of New York* (2 vols., Albany, 1906; Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1905), I, 84-85, 446-52; II, 1030-31.

<sup>32</sup> Bomford to Barbour, Mar. 22, 1826, *Am. St. Pap., Military Affairs*, III, 271-72. Cf. Porter to Van Buren, Feb. 20, 1829, Adjutant General's Office records, Military Book No. 12, p. 415.

Niagara, at the mouth of the river of the same name; and this was done, \$82,325 being spent there between 1815 and 1824.<sup>33</sup> American interest was chiefly concentrated, however, on the great invasion route by Lake Champlain. Prevost's abortive enterprise of 1814 had again emphasized the importance of this line. American officers had noted the possibility of corking the bottleneck outlet of the lake by fortifying the slight promontory and marshy islet at Rouse's Point in the Richelieu, the only practicable site for a work to block the advance of British vessels from Isle-aux-Noix. Lieutenant Colonel (later Major General) Joseph G. Totten is said to have recommended this in 1814, and the following year Brown included in his postwar program "a well constituted work" at this point; it would, he said, secure to the United States the "undisturbed command" of Lake Champlain.<sup>34</sup> In 1816 construction began.<sup>35</sup> The fortifications planned were the most formidable the United States had ever erected on the border: on the islet "a large Octagonal Tower of Masonry,"<sup>36</sup> casemated and accommodating a powerful armament, and on the mainland a strong battery. The two works together were to mount "nearly three hundred pieces of cannon."<sup>37</sup>

Building went on for three seasons; about \$113,000 had been spent,<sup>38</sup> and the tower was nearly complete, when catastrophe intervened. In October, 1818, the astronomers carrying out the boundary survey prescribed in the Treaty of Ghent found that the line heretofore accepted as the forty-fifth parallel was some three quarters of a mile too far north, and the American forts had been built in Canada!<sup>39</sup> Work was halted and the unfinished forts began to fall to pieces; by 1825 the tower was reported to be "in a state of ruin."<sup>40</sup>

#### IV

The Rush-Bagot agreement itself merits some notice here. The diplomatic exchanges leading up to it have been carefully studied by historians,<sup>41</sup> but its military background and results have been little noticed, and the interpreta-

<sup>33</sup> Graham to Brown, Oct. 16, 1815, Brown Letter-Book No. 1, p. 384; *Am. St. Pap., Military Affairs*, III, 245-56.

<sup>34</sup> Cullum, p. 82 n. Brown to Crawford, Nov. 30, 1815 (above, note 28).

<sup>35</sup> Advertisement by Totten in New York *Evening Post* for 2,500,000 bricks, enclosed in Baumgardt to Owen, March, 1816, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 674.

<sup>36</sup> "Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington," p. 6. This document states that the tower has "four guns on each side," but a British sketch of it made in 1819 (Public Archives of Canada, Map Division) indicates that one front at least had eight gunports.

<sup>37</sup> Estimates for 1819, *Am. St. Pap., Military Affairs*, I, 810 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 245-56.

<sup>39</sup> Alfred L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace after the War of 1812* (New Haven, 1940), p. 425.

<sup>40</sup> "Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington," p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Most recently by Burt, *op. cit.*

tion of it has been colored by modern ideals and assumptions which have very limited application to the circumstances of 1817. A more realistic interpretation is overdue. The agreement was in fact not an act of faith but a measure of expediency. The hard facts may be briefly stated.

The years 1812-14 had witnessed a tremendous competition in naval construction on the border lakes, and in particular on Lake Ontario. The details need not be repeated here, but at the end of the war the British had a ship of 112 guns actually in commission on that lake, while British and Americans each had on the stocks two three-deckers—the American vessels being almost certainly the largest ships in existence at the time.<sup>42</sup> The burden of this contest, in the conditions created by the undeveloped state of communications on both sides of the border, was becoming insupportable, and it is hard to say what would have happened had the war continued. At the end of hostilities Congress deflated the American establishment on the lakes promptly and completely. An act approved on February 27, 1815,<sup>43</sup> authorized the President to sell or lay up all the armed vessels there except those necessary for the enforcement of the revenue laws, "such vessels being first divested of their armament, tackle and furniture, which are to be carefully preserved." As a result, American naval activity afloat on the lakes almost entirely ceased. Construction was stopped on the great ships *New Orleans* and *Chippewa* at Sackett's Harbor; but "shiphouses" were built over them, at a cost of \$25,000, to protect them from the weather.<sup>44</sup>

On the British side also there was a very great reduction, but a less sweeping one. By the spring of 1816, the largest ships of the war period had been "laid up and housed over" at Kingston; the two unfinished ships of the line remained on the stocks. The vessels still in commission had few guns mounted. Among these were six schooners on the upper lakes, all capable of carrying armament but with none aboard. Including both the crews afloat and the civil establishment ashore, the Royal Navy's strength in personnel on the lakes was 1,023.<sup>45</sup> The contrast to the American situation was marked; and the United States government was troubled by reports of intended augmentations of the British force. It is clear that so far as actual action was concerned these were exaggerated, but it is the case that the commander on the lakes in 1815 (Commodore Sir Edward Owen) had advised the main-

<sup>42</sup> For an outline, see E. Cruikshank's two papers, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1812 and 1813," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Sect. II, 3d ser., X (1916), and "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1814," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, XXI (1924).

<sup>43</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 13 Cong., 3 sess., chap. LXII.

<sup>44</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Naval Affairs*, IV, 632-33.

<sup>45</sup> Return of May 1, 1816, enclosed in W. F. W. Owen to Drummond, May 15, 1816, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 737, p. 115.

tenance of a considerable establishment, involving the construction of a number of new ships,<sup>46</sup> and that the Admiralty had recommended this to the Colonial Office.<sup>47</sup>

In these conditions the United States proposed a drastic limitation of naval armaments on the lakes, which would have the effect of reducing the British establishment to the standard prescribed by Congress for the American one. John Quincy Adams broached the matter to Lord Castlereagh on January 25, 1816. He found the Foreign Secretary's attitude discouraging:

He replied that we had so much the advantage over them there by our position that a mutual stipulation against arming, during the peace, would be unequal and disadvantageous in its operation to Great Britain. For as the hands of both parties would, by such an arrangement, be tied until war should have commenced, the Americans by their proximity would be able to prepare armaments for attacks much sooner than those of the British could be prepared for defense.

This was a severely accurate and realistic appraisal of the military facts, and although Castlereagh promised to refer the question to the cabinet, Adams was left with little hope of a favorable decision.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, on April 9 the Foreign Secretary informed him that the government were prepared to accept the American proposals. "The armed vessels might be laid up, as they called it here, in ordinary."<sup>49</sup>

Although a year passed before the agreement was formalized by the exchange of notes in Washington, the basic decision had now been taken, and the motives of the British government in accepting Secretary Monroe's proposition are a matter of interest. Unfortunately they remain conjectural, for Castlereagh's published correspondence throws no light on the matter; but the fundamental factors seem obvious. One was the need for economy. Antipathy to continued large naval and military expenditures was manifesting itself in Parliament,<sup>50</sup> and it must have seemed questionable whether the House of Commons would long be willing, in time of peace, to bear the burden of a naval building-race on the Great Lakes, to which—thanks to the interruption of navigation on the St. Lawrence by the rapids—the general sea power of Britain could not reach. At the same time, there was always the possibility that, in the face of superior American local resources, British efforts would be unavailing. It may well be that Commodore Sir James Yeo's

<sup>46</sup> Owen's various reports form Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 141, parts 1 and 2.

<sup>47</sup> Croker to Goulburn, July 6, 1816, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Adams to Monroe, Feb. 8, 1816, *House Document* no. 471, 56 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 5-6. (This *House Document* is an important collection of documents on the Rush-Bagot agreement sent to Congress by President McKinley, Feb. 27, 1900.) Cf. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874-77), III, 285 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 327-30; Adams to Monroe, Apr. 15, 1816, *House Doc.* no. 471, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Annual Register*, 1816, chap. 1.



opinion, penned less than a year before, had some influence at this juncture: "The preservation of Canada by means of a Naval force on the Lakes, will, in my opinion, be an endless if not a futile undertaking."<sup>51</sup> It is true that Yeo had gone on to recommend the maintenance of a large naval establishment, if Upper Canada was to be defended at all. The British were faced with a choice of evils, and it doubtless seemed best, all things considered, to accept the solid immediate advantages of disarmament and let the future take care of itself. The peace might endure; and it was even possible that the abolition of the lake navies, by diminishing possibilities of collision, might make war less likely.<sup>52</sup>

It must be recognized, however, that in accepting the American proposals the British made important military sacrifices. The importance of the naval command of the Great Lakes to the security of Canada was evidenced by the scale of the exertions made during the war by both sides to gain and hold that command. To Canada, moreover, the lakes were much more important than to the United States; to the latter they were a frontier, to the former an absolutely vital line of communication. And as long as the existing disproportion in population and other resources between the two communities continued, Canada's only hope of survival in another war was a superior state of military preparation at its outbreak. This had been her salvation in 1812. Without the presence of a respectable garrison of regular troops and the temporary naval superiority resulting from the existence of her Provincial Marine on the lakes, she must inevitably have fallen in that campaign.<sup>53</sup> These facts were clear to Commodore William Owen, and on them he founded a strong protest against the disarmament agreement.<sup>54</sup> The Americans, he wrote, being so much superior on the spot in "Physical force and commandable resources," naturally favored every expedient "that would reduce a future contest to a competition of physical force only."

The so-called Rush-Bagot agreement<sup>55</sup> was in fact an exceedingly favor-

<sup>51</sup> Yeo to Melville, May 30, 1815, Public Archives of Canada, M 389, 6, Admiralty Papers (transcripts).

<sup>52</sup> On the succession of "incidents" on the lakes since the war, see Burt, pp. 378-87. It is interesting to recall that Castlereagh himself had considered proposing naval disarmament at Ghent, but his draft instruction on the subject was not used (James M. Callahan, *The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations* [Baltimore, 1898], p. 61).

<sup>53</sup> Alfred T. Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812* (London, 1905), I, 351-54. It may be recalled that the demilitarization of the border had twice been suggested by American negotiators at earlier periods—by John Adams in 1782 and by Jay in 1794 (Samuel F. Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* [New York, 1935], p. 251, and Burt, pp. 147-48). Had these proposals been accepted, Canada would certainly have been lost to Britain at the outset of this war.

<sup>54</sup> Owen to Baumgardt, Sept. 3, 1816, Public Archives of Canada, Bagot Papers, American Correspondence, vol. 6, pp. 96 ff. William FitzWilliam Owen had succeeded his brother Sir Edward as commander on the lakes in 1815.

<sup>55</sup> These two men signed the formal documents, but Rush had had nothing at all to do with

able arrangement for the United States. On the one hand, it enabled the country to maintain the policy of stringent economy which its circumstances at the end of the war demanded; on the other, it rendered an easy conquest of Canada much more likely in the event of another war. It is not surprising that throughout the negotiations the initiative came from the Americans, who made the original proposal, framed the stipulations which were ultimately written into the agreement, and did all they could to accelerate the business. It was the British who made the concessions.

At the same time, it should be noted that the "disarmament" effected by the agreement was subject to very important qualifications which historians have overlooked, and which probably contributed to the British acceptance. The agreement allowed each party to maintain one small vessel on Lake Champlain, one on Lake Ontario and two on the upper lakes; these ships were not to exceed one hundred tons, or to mount more than one eighteen-pounder each. All others were to be "forthwith dismantled," and no other vessels of war were to be "there built or armed."<sup>56</sup> But it will be observed that there was no requirement that the ships should be done away with, and in fact they were not. Already, long before the agreement, the major vessels on both sides (except the British *Prince Regent*, which was in commission as a floating barracks at Kingston) had been laid up "in ordinary" and housed over; and in this condition they remained at the naval stations on either side, ready to be refitted and armed in case of war. At Kingston and Sackett's Harbor the unfinished three-deckers stood in the yards, their completion long a possibility; the Americans had a special advantage in that theirs were covered, while the British ones were not. Furthermore, there was no requirement that the naval dockyards on either side should be broken up; and they too continued to exist, their staffs watching over the dismantled ships and the armament and stores which would fit them for action in emergency. The situation on the two sides, as it developed during the next period, can be rapidly sketched.

The British in the beginning did not even maintain in commission the small vessels permitted by the agreement. When Commodore Sir Robert Hall, the new commander on the lakes, received his orders in the summer of 1817, he wrote ruefully, "we are reduced to a Boat's Crew on the civil establishment."<sup>57</sup> He struck his commodore's broad pendant—but only to take up

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the negotiation and Bagot nothing very material. The people whose names best deserve to be remembered in connection with the agreement are Monroe and Castlereagh.

<sup>56</sup> For text of the notes exchanged, and other documents connected with negotiation and ratification, see (David) Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington, 1931—), II, 645–54.

<sup>57</sup> To Bagot, May 18, 1817, Public Archives of Canada, Bagot Papers, American Correspondence, vol. 6, p. 135.

residence ashore in the capacity of commissioner of Kingston Dockyard. When he died in 1818, he was replaced by Captain Robert Barrie.<sup>58</sup> In 1827 the floating establishment was revived, evidently within the limits of the agreement, when Barrie commissioned the schooner *Cockburn*. All this time the wartime ships remained in reserve at Kingston; and not only were large quantities of stores held in the dockyard to equip them if necessary,<sup>59</sup> but considerable sums were spent on repairing the vessels. In 1821 the sum of £10,000 appeared in the British navy estimates for works in Kingston Dockyard "and Repair of the Fleet"; two years later the provision was reduced to £6,000, and at this level it remained annually until 1830, when it was further cut to £3,000.<sup>60</sup>

The Admiralty was now coming to what its secretary called "the decision of abandoning the vain effort to maintain the British Naval Supremacy on the Lakes of Canada."<sup>61</sup> In 1826 it had been pointed out that the annual provision for repair was inadequate, and that to bring a part of the force into readiness for service in the course of three years would require an annual grant of not less than £25,000.<sup>62</sup> In 1830 there was talk of ending the whole organization; but fearing that this might be interpreted as throwing doubt upon "the firm determination of the Mother Country to defend those great and important Colonies to the utmost," the British government "resolved only to cease to repair the ships, and to reduce the Establishment."<sup>63</sup> The vote for repairs was discontinued in 1831,<sup>64</sup> and during 1832 most of the vessels at Kingston were disposed of.<sup>65</sup> Next year the Admiralty recommended "breaking up altogether" the naval establishment on the lakes. The Americans, the Secretary of the Admiralty pointed out to the Colonial Office, had already set the example of disarmament, "and the adoption of a similar policy on our part would tend, in Their Lordships' opinion, to remove one cause of jealousy, without diminishing our real means of defence, for as Sir James Kempt . . . clearly establishes, those means must henceforth be *Military* and not *Naval* . . ." The completion of the Rideau Canal, and the new fortifications at Quebec and Kingston, had greatly improved the British defensive position.<sup>66</sup> The

<sup>58</sup> Barrie to Richmond, July 29, 1819, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 740, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> "The quantity of Stores . . . which have been kept at Montreal and Kingston, ever since the War, is quite enormous" (Barrow [Admiralty] to Hay [Colonial Office], Dec. 3, 1833, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 210, part 1, pp. 17 ff.).

<sup>60</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1821, XV, no. 41; 1823, XIII, no. 29; 1830, XVIII, no. 62.

<sup>61</sup> Barrow to Hay, Dec. 3, 1833, note 59 above.

<sup>62</sup> Martin to Melville, May 24, 1826, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 210, part 1, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Barrow to Hay, Dec. 3, 1833, above.

<sup>64</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1830-31, VI, no. 149.

<sup>65</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, Dec. 31, 1831, quoting *Montreal Gazette*; cf. Edward T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough* (London, 1833), p. 320.

<sup>66</sup> Barrow to Hay, Dec. 3, 1833, above; General Sir James Kempt's letter of Jan. 26, 1831,

Colonial Office assented, and in 1834 the establishment was largely closed down. For a couple of years a clerk remained in charge of stores at Kingston, and another at Montreal; but even this arrangement was terminated during the financial year 1836-37.<sup>67</sup>

On the American shores of the lakes the situation was not dissimilar, save that genuine naval disarmament came a little sooner. The United States did in the beginning designate vessels to be kept in commission under the terms of the agreement,<sup>68</sup> but by 1820 the four vessels had dwindled to two.<sup>69</sup> The dockyard establishments, at Sackett's Harbor and Erie on the Great Lakes and at Whitehall on Lake Champlain, were kept up. In 1821 the total annual cost of the three was reported as a trifle more than \$33,000. Sackett's, which cost \$15,000, was one of the most expensive of the Navy's thirteen yards, second only to Boston.<sup>70</sup> This situation, however, was soon ended by the process of decay in the dismantled fleet. Twenty of the vessels were reported unworthy of repair as early as 1821;<sup>71</sup> and in 1825 Congress authorized the President to sell all the public vessels on the lakes "except the ships of the line *New Orleans* and *Chippewa*, now on the stocks, under cover at Sackett's Harbour."<sup>72</sup> This was done, and both the floating and shore establishments of the Navy on the lakes were broken up that year, except for leaving "an officer and one or two men" at each station to look after property which could not easily be sold or removed.<sup>73</sup> The yard at Sackett's was closed on February 9, 1826, but the two three-deckers remained, with a sailing master in charge of them. By 1834 the *Chippewa* had been sold, but the *New Orleans* was saved by the commissioners of the Navy, who argued that "a proper regard to the possible wants of the country, upon that frontier" justified her preservation.<sup>74</sup> The *New Orleans* in fact disappeared from the list of the United States Navy only in 1882.<sup>75</sup>

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to Sir James Graham enclosed (Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 210, part 1, pp. 47 ff.).

<sup>67</sup> Barrow to Hay, Oct. 7, 1834, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 218, p. 52. The last item in the estimates was £200 for 1837-38 for "contingent expenses on breaking up the establishment" (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, XL, no. 25).

<sup>68</sup> Callahan, p. 83.

<sup>69</sup> *Am. St. Pap., Naval Affairs*, I, 652.

<sup>70</sup> Report of Commissioners of the Navy, Jan. 25, 1821, *ibid.*, I, 715.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 18 Cong., 2 sess., chap. 101 (Mar. 3, 1825).

<sup>73</sup> Report of Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 2, 1825, and accompanying documents, *Am. St. Pap., Naval Affairs*, II, 98-103, 127-30; cf. *ibid.*, IV, 633.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 632-34.

<sup>75</sup> *Register of the Commissioned, Warrant, and Volunteer Officers of the Navy of the United States . . . to January 1, 1882* (Washington, 1882), p. 192. The ship does not appear in the 1883 edition.

V

Enough has been said to establish that the border was not demilitarized by the Treaty of Ghent and that the Rush-Bagot agreement's effect has been greatly exaggerated. Space is lacking to continue the story in detail, but an outline of developments down to 1871 is worth attempting.

The chief elements operating to limit military expenditures in Canada were the financial scruples of the British Parliament and the unwillingness of the colonial legislatures to assume a larger share of the burden of defense themselves.<sup>76</sup> If the soldiers had had a free hand, far more would have been spent. Even as it was, the sums laid out were far from insignificant. Although, as we have seen, the enormous recommendations of Carmichael Smyth's commission for fortifications frightened the British government, especially after the unfortunate experience with the Rideau Canal, some action was taken; in 1828 estimates of £330,644 were brought down, £115,998 being for a citadel at Halifax and the remainder for works at Kingston.<sup>77</sup> The Halifax citadel was duly built; the Kingston program was never fully carried out, but an imposing "casemated redoubt," Fort Henry (which has been restored in recent years and is a fascinating monument of the military architecture of its period), arose between 1832 and 1836 on the high ground overlooking the dockyard and the entrance of the Rideau Canal. A range of bombproof commissariat storehouses was added to the fort in 1841-42.<sup>78</sup> When the Oregon dispute was at its hottest, in 1846, Parliament appropriated £90,000 for "new works" in Canada. Under this appropriation, Kingston was greatly strengthened, acquiring four Martello towers which still exist; it was explained apologetically in 1849 that owing to an unfortunate oversight the work was not stopped after the signing of the Oregon treaty, but in December, 1846, orders were sent out to defer all works not already commenced.<sup>79</sup> All told, £175,861 of the British taxpayer's money was spent on defenses at Kingston (including land purchases and barracks) between 1828 and 1848. During the same period, £135,564 was spent at Quebec (largely for the completion of the citadel and the acquisition of land important to its security), and £150,617 at Halifax, where the citadel was still unfinished in 1848 and the total estimate for it had grown to £204,926.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936).

<sup>77</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1828, VIII, no. 493.

<sup>78</sup> Ronald L. Way, "Old Fort Henry. The Citadel of Upper Canada," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, XL (April, 1950), 148-69.

<sup>79</sup> "Second Report from Select Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1849, IX, no. 499, p. lvii.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G.

The very serious crisis in Anglo-American relations growing out of the Civil War, which led to a great increase in the regular garrison of Canada and ultimately to considerable defensive activity on the part of the colonial government and legislature, also produced large fortification projects in Canada.<sup>81</sup> The only inland point where defenses were actually built at this period, however, was Quebec; the fortress there was modernized by the construction in 1865-72 of three new forts at Levis, on the south side of the St. Lawrence, at a cost of £249,456.<sup>82</sup> These works were not of course strictly border fortifications; but they may be considered the last defenses built on the Canadian side of a frontier which henceforth would be, for the first time, genuinely unfortified.

The successive Anglo-American crises of the middle nineteenth century also left substantial monuments in the form of fortifications on the American side of the border. The period of difficulty beginning with the frontier troubles following the Canadian rebellions of 1837, and continuing with the "Aroostook War" in Maine, produced, for the first time, a comprehensive American program of border fortification. In 1839 Congress provided funds for renovating existing forts, and work began at once at Fort Niagara and at Fort Ontario, Oswego.<sup>83</sup> In 1840 a board of engineers recommended the expenditure of \$2,160,000 for defenses on the northern frontier.<sup>84</sup> Appropriations were made in 1841,<sup>85</sup> and during the next few years new forts appeared near Detroit (Fort Wayne) and Buffalo (Fort Porter). Plans made for new works at the outlet of Lake Champlain were changed when the treaty of 1842 confirmed the possession of Rouse's Point to the United States, and the building of a very formidable stone fort there began in 1844.<sup>86</sup> In 1851 it was reported that \$612,250 had been spent on fortifications on the northern border; Fort Montgomery, Rouse's Point, had accounted for \$187,355 of the expenditure.<sup>87</sup>

The fifties were a period of border peace, and by 1860 the Engineer Bureau was calling attention to the fact that the fortifications along the lakes were being neglected, and that Fort Montgomery was only "about half finished."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, chaps. vi-vii.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200, 228; Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 1419.

<sup>83</sup> Appropriation, *Statutes at Large*, 25 Cong., 3 sess., chap. xciv (Mar. 3, 1839); see also Annual Report of Secretary of War, Nov. 30, 1839. (These annual reports, with which those of the Chief Engineer, among other officials, are included, are to be found in the congressional documents of contemporary sessions.)

<sup>84</sup> Message from President Van Buren, Apr. 24, 1840, *Senate Documents*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., VII.

<sup>85</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 27 Cong., 1 sess., chap. xvii (Sept. 9, 1841).

<sup>86</sup> Annual Report of Chief Engineer, Nov. 30, 1844.

<sup>87</sup> Letter from the Secretary of War in Reference to Fortifications, Dec. 11, 1851, *House Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., no. 5. It would seem that this refers to expenditure since 1839.

<sup>88</sup> Annual Report of the Engineer Bureau, Nov. 14, 1860.



Then came the Civil War and the *Trent* affair, and things changed. The appropriation act of February 20, 1862, provided \$900,000 for defenses on the Canadian border, and during that year and the next the work of repairing and improving Forts Wayne, Niagara, and Ontario, and pushing Fort Montgomery to completion, was carried on very actively.<sup>89</sup> This work did not end with the war; but it did end a few years later. In 1870 Fort Montgomery was reported "essentially completed for the old styles of armament,"<sup>90</sup> and a recommendation that it be modified to suit modern guns was never carried out. Major construction at Forts Wayne and Niagara ended in 1870-71, and work stopped at Fort Ontario in 1872 with the fort still unfinished. Thereafter activity at the American border forts was limited to routine repairs.<sup>91</sup> At various times there were recommendations for a resumption of fortification construction,<sup>92</sup> but no such scheme was ever carried out.

Naval activity on the Great Lakes did not wholly come to an end even when the dockyards were finally closed. A book could be written about the manner in which every period of strained relations produced its own expedients to circumvent the agreement of 1817. In 1838 the British authorities commissioned gunboats on the lakes as a protective measure to deal with the large-scale border filibustering activity which followed the Canadian rebellions, arguing that these measures of self-defense, though they might contravene the letter of the agreement, did not offend against its spirit.<sup>93</sup> In 1842-44 the United States built on the upper lakes the gunboat *Michigan*, of 582 tons and mounting one eight-inch gun;<sup>94</sup> the first iron ship in the Navy, she remained in commission for the greater part of a century. During the Oregon crisis the British government gave assistance to the building by private companies or individuals of three steamers which could be used as warships in emergency.<sup>95</sup> The difficulties on the border in the latter part of the Civil War led to the *Michigan's* armament being increased,<sup>96</sup> and to new revenue cutters being constructed or purchased by the United States.<sup>97</sup> (An

<sup>89</sup> Letter, National Archives to the writer, Feb. 9, 1939. Detail of fortification projects was omitted from annual reports during the Civil War.

<sup>90</sup> Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, Oct. 25, 1870.

<sup>91</sup> The situation is conveniently summarized in C. W. Raymond and John McClure, *Analytical and Topical Index to the Reports of the Chief of Engineers . . . 1866-1900*, III (Washington, 1903).

<sup>92</sup> See especially the report of the "Endicott Board," Jan. 16, 1886, Appendix 3 to Annual Report of Chief of Engineers, 1886.

<sup>93</sup> Durham to Fox, June 25, 1838, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, XXXII, no. 2.

<sup>94</sup> George F. Emmons, *The Navy of the United States, from the Commencement, 1775 to 1853* (Washington, 1853), pp. 30-31, 34-35.

<sup>95</sup> Smith (Colonial Office) to Lord Grey, Oct. 20, 1848, Public Record Office, W. O. 1, vol. 559, pp. 357-63 (photostat in Public Archives of Canada). Cf. Paul Knaplund, "The Armaments on the Great Lakes, 1844," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL (April, 1935), 473-78.

<sup>96</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion* (Naval), 1st ser., II, 503.

<sup>97</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1865, cmd. 3427, LVII, 101-106.

act of December 20, 1864, appropriated up to \$1,000,000 for building six more cutters.) The British had no naval craft whatever on the lakes during the war, but the Fenian raids in 1866 led them to arm local vessels and to bring small gunboats of the Royal Navy up the St. Lawrence canals.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, this renewed armed activity on the lakes came to an end with the Fenian troubles, in 1870-71; and the Rush-Bagot agreement survived these storms. It had actually been denounced by the United States in 1864, after the St. Albans raid, but the denunciation was later withdrawn.<sup>99</sup>

## VI

Examination of the military facts serves to emphasize the importance of the Treaty of Washington of 1871 as a turning-point in Anglo-American and Canadian-American relations. The same year witnessed the withdrawal of British regular forces from the interior of Canada;<sup>100</sup> no serious international questions arose to replace those that had caused a succession of crises since 1837; and the border gradually lapsed into somnolence. In the absence of new construction, and with the advance of military technology, the old forts soon became little more than historical monuments, and nobody noticed the little garrisons of American regulars or of the tiny Canadian permanent force which were still found at the traditional stations. Demilitarization arrived imperceptibly, not by international agreement but by the absence of international disagreement. The disarmament which the Rush-Bagot arrangement had not produced did come into being after the Treaty of Washington.

A relationship of genuine confidence, of course, developed only slowly. It would not be hard to show that the continuance of fortification activity along the American seaboard—and at Halifax and later Esquimalt in Canada—was connected with the apprehension of Anglo-American difficulties as well as with other anxieties; but that apprehension lessened as time passed. The brief scare caused by President Cleveland's Venezuela message of 1895, which led the Canadian government to rearm the militia, was the last Anglo-American crisis to occasion important military precautions in Canada.<sup>101</sup> The British Empire and the United States were henceforth to find their controversies with other countries more serious than any difficulty still subsisting between themselves.

### *Historical Section, Canadian General Staff*

<sup>98</sup> Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, pp. 190-91.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. x.

<sup>101</sup> C. P. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada* (Toronto, 1940), p. 65.

# The American Liberty League, 1934-1940

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

IN March, 1934, the New Deal was a year old. The economic collapse which had provoked it and the confused but determined activities of the New Deal had become, by then, profoundly disturbing to men whose gods were Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer. For them both the depression and Franklin Roosevelt's solutions contained unwholesome quantities of uncertainty and change. Correspondence, reflecting despair and anger, flowed from one citadel of economic power to another, most of it destined to remain in the private files for which it was intended. Some of it, however, found its way into the chambers of Congress and eventually into the public press. There the anguish of what has come to be called the American Way was from time to time documented and recorded. Of such a character was the exchange of letters between the Du Pont Building in Wilmington and the Empire State Building in New York in March, 1934, between R. R. M. Carpenter, a retired Du Pont vice-president, and John J. Raskob, a retired chairman of the Democratic party but a still active vice-president of the Du Pont organization.

"Five negroes on my place in South Carolina refused work this spring . . . saying they had easy jobs with the government," Carpenter wrote. "A cook on my houseboat at Fort Myers quit because the government was paying him a dollar an hour as a painter." What Mr. Carpenter asked of Mr. Raskob was that he, who might have the ear of the President for the asking, inquire of Mr. Roosevelt whether he knew where the country was going; his own experiences, at his place in South Carolina and on his houseboat in Florida, had convinced him that the directions were altogether contrary to American promise. Mr. Raskob was inclined to agree, but, he said, he was now out of politics and, besides, he had a better idea. "You haven't much to do," he wrote Carpenter, "and I know of no one that could better take the lead in trying to induce the Du Pont and General Motors groups, followed by other big industries, to definitely organize to protect society from the sufferings which it is bound to endure if we allow communistic elements to lead the people to believe that all businessmen are crooks." Raskob went on to suggest that there was a need for "some very definite organization that would come out openly with some plan for educating the people to the value of encouraging people to work; encouraging people to get rich." He felt that

R. R. M. Carpenter, and his friends Pierre and Irénée du Pont, were especially equipped to take on that task, for they were "in a position to talk directly with a group that controls a larger share of industry . . . than any other group in the United States."<sup>1</sup>

Of such beginnings was the American Liberty League. On August 15, 1934, an organization such as Raskob had contemplated was chartered in Washington, D.C., dedicated to "teach the necessity of respect for the rights of persons and property . . . and . . . the duty of government to encourage and protect individual and group initiative and enterprise, to foster the right to work, earn, save and acquire property, and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired."<sup>2</sup> And from its birth until its death, its most faithful financial backers were the Du Pont and General Motors groups upon whom Raskob had counted.<sup>3</sup>

The Liberty League was as indigenously American as the New Deal which it was determined to destroy. Its unsuccessful efforts to unseat Franklin Roosevelt, its philosophy and program, the techniques which it used in order to survive as long as it did—these are not the materials of an un-American movement. They are the compound of a set of emphases which, although they found little support in the New Deal, are as much a part of the structure of American values as are those which have been carried along in succeeding Democratic administrations since 1932. The Liberty League represented a vigorous and well-stated defense of nineteenth century individualism and liberalism, a more explicit and determined elaboration of that position than will be found elsewhere in American history. It was organized at a time when by and large the philosophy of rugged individualism had stopped performing in American society, but that is not to say that it had lost all function—it still retained, for example, a strong hold upon the imaginations of men whose experiences supported its promises. Although the New Deal and the history of American political preferences since 1932 hardly argues for the survival of the position which the Liberty League maintained, there was too much of a thoroughly American character in the movement to permit the

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1934. The correspondence was disclosed during the Nye munitions hearings in the Senate. When Jouett Shouse, president of the League, informed the press of the formation of the organization, he disclosed that Raskob was one of its prime movers. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> American Liberty League, *American Liberty League: A Statement of Its Principles and Purposes* (Washington, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> The League made periodic reports to Congress on the state of its finances and the source of its income. These may be found reported in the *New York Times* for Jan. 11, 1935; Jan. 26, 1936; Mar. 17, 1936; Apr. 9, 1936; June 12, 1936; Sept. 12, 1936; Oct. 22, 1936; Jan. 8, 1937; Mar. 12, 1937; June 12, 1937; Sept. 11, 1937; Mar. 11, 1938. A study of the reports indicates that the League spent over a million dollars; that Shouse, in 1936, was the highest paid political organizer in the United States, at a salary of \$36,000 and \$18,000 for expenses; and that of the \$483,000 collected in 1935, over one third was contributed by members of the Du Pont family.

conclusion that it was an unimportant, flash-in-the-pan combination of undercover political party and overt pressure group. The American Liberty League was much more than that. Indeed, it symbolized essentially old and established traditions and values coming face to face with new social, political, and economic facts. In such a case, new facts, however unalterable, do not immediately succeed in overcoming old values. At least until now, it has been the nature of civilized societies that men have complicated their lives by seeking to reconcile the irreconcilable; such, in a way, was the aim of the American Liberty League. It emphasized the values which, by its lights, deserved encouragement and protection from new facts at which it balked, and from certain other values in the society which it chose to ignore or de-emphasize.

At a time when the Republican party was bankrupt of leadership and purpose, the American Liberty League became the spokesman for a business civilization, and a defender of that civilization from the attacks of the administration in Washington and of lesser groups from the right and the left, the followers of Father Coughlin, the Townsendites, the Socialists, the Share-the-Wealth movement of Huey Long. "Business which bears the responsibility for the paychecks of private employment has little voice in government," it complained in its *Statement of Principles and Purposes*, proceeding then to become in the mid-thirties the mouthpiece of organized American conservatism.<sup>4</sup> At a time when economic distress encouraged an increasing emphasis upon the forgotten man and the common man, it came to the defense of the uncommon man who stood at the pinnacle—the uncommon man, whose freedom to follow the bent of his natural talents, unfettered by government regulation and control, had long been an ingrained tenet of the American faith. The roster of its officers and of its chief financial contributors is a roster of the uncommon men of the time, the men whose ambitions and abilities had been rewarded with the success, the power, and the prestige to which Americans of every background have been traditionally conditioned to aspire: Irénée, Pierre, and Lamot du Pont, controllers of a vast industrial empire; Ernest T. Wier, steel man; Will L. Clayton, Texas cotton broker; Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors; Edward F. Hutton, chairman of General Foods; J. Howard Pew, president of Sun Oil; William S. Knudsen, also of General Motors; Joseph E. Widener, Philadelphia transportation magnate; Sewell L. Avery of Montgomery Ward; George H. Houston, presi-

<sup>4</sup> *American Liberty League: A Statement of Its Principles and Purposes*. From August, 1934, until November, 1936, the League made the first page of the *New York Times* thirty-five times; in the absence of organized Republicanism, the press looked to it for opposition sentiment on New Deal legislative proposals.

dent of Baldwin Locomotive. And with them were corporation lawyers, professional politicians, some academicians, and others who represented a mixture of business with politics or business with academics. They were men who subscribed, out of conviction or experience, to that combination of social Darwinism and American experience which evoked a constant stream of leaflets, pamphlets, radio addresses, and press releases from the offices of the Liberty League.<sup>5</sup> Its spokesmen included Alfred E. Smith, 1928 presidential candidate of the Democratic party, whose biography was a story out of Horatio Alger; John W. Davis, 1924 presidential candidate of the Democratic party and chief counsel for J. P. Morgan; Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson and attorney for William Randolph Hearst; Neil Carothers, director of the College of Business Administration at Lehigh; Edward W. Kemmerer, professor of international finance at Princeton; Albert G. Keller, professor at Yale and student of William Graham Sumner, who constructed a *Science of Society* which was shot through with the transfer of Darwinian analysis to social institutions; and Samuel Harden Church, head of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh. The membership of its national advisory council was drawn largely from the successful business interests of the industrial states of the North and East, whose contributions permitted the League to spend over a million dollars to defend its construction of the American Way—a business civilization in which a concern for individual liberty, romantic individualism, the worship of success, the high value of personal power and prestige were embedded in a tradition of economic independence which survived in America, less as a reality than as a dream to be fulfilled.

The cloak in which the Liberty League dressed itself in order to promote its position and its program was made of respectable generalities, partial self-delusion, intense sincerity, and frequently embarrassing hypocrisy. It supported with worshipful intensity the Constitution of the United States; it placed itself on the side of the individual and of liberty in opposition to an encroaching government bureaucracy; it respected the judgment of the founding fathers who had so wisely incorporated the separation of federal powers and the rights of the states into the great national document; it defended the American right to enjoy the sweat of one's own labor and the rewards of one's ability.<sup>6</sup> With its announced purposes few could find fault,

<sup>5</sup> Reporting on the activities of the first seventeen months of the League, Shouse maintained that 1,363 weekly newspapers were accepting a special League news service. *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1936. In addition, each month saw the publication of pamphlets, consisting of speeches and radio addresses of League spokesmen, as well as specially prepared studies of New Deal legislation by League researchers in Washington.

<sup>6</sup> For the main directions of Liberty League thought, use was made of its series of Bulletins



but as Franklin Roosevelt told his press conference on the day following the announcement of the formation of the organization, the League reminded him of a group organized to uphold two of the Ten Commandments.<sup>7</sup> William E. Borah, said a headline in the *New York Times*, "Backs Plan of Liberty League," yet deep in the column of the story itself one could find Borah, facing up to the question of industrial monopoly, declaring, "The power which closes the door of opportunity . . . in the business world leaves me cold to all their panegyrics about liberty. . . . There is no liberty worthy of the name without economic freedom and social justice."<sup>8</sup> It was this absence of any concern for the social and economic dislocations of the 1930's which documented the League's great skill at self-delusion. It sincerely thought that it had something vital to sell, but it miserably misjudged the consumers whom it hoped to win. Frantically, it tried to save a people who would not be saved.

However well it represented certain American values, the Liberty League ran counter to other values in American society which found more fertile soil in the economic distress which followed the stock market crash of 1929. American benevolence and humanitarianism, when called upon to face the greatest unemployment problem in the nation's history, could find no solution in the well-rounded phrases of the founding fathers or in the fears of the American Liberty League. R. R. M. Carpenter's anxiety over the behavior of his farm hands in Carolina and of the chef on his Florida houseboat was not the kind of anxiety which American society in general was experiencing. For most Americans, as successive Roosevelt victories demonstrated, it seemed altogether more important to look after the ill-fed, the ill-clothed, and the ill-housed than to pay heed to Mr. Carpenter's despair; and, in the process, it seemed a lesser evil that the government take on a great and all-encompassing humanitarian function than that the very American value of humanitarianism be thwarted by a too rigid devotion to a past way of doing things. If there had been a streak of benevolence in the announcements, publications, and radio addresses of the Liberty League, one wonders whether anyone would have taken them seriously, but, even so, it is an inescapable conclusion that the absence of any humanitarian concern was a serious drawback to its growth. When one of its academic spokesmen described the depression as something of a health tonic intended to rid the economic system of harmful poisons, it displayed its lack of a warm appreciation of the social

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and Documents (1934-36), in which the basic position of the League is carefully and frequently expounded by its spokesmen and staff writers.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1934.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1934.

and economic illnesses which had attended the eradication of those economic poisons.<sup>9</sup> Its attack upon the NLRA provision for union representation according to majority vote as an "illegal interference with the individual freedom of the worker . . . to sell his own labor on his own terms" could only be taken as a refusal to admit the social and economic factors underlying the growing union movement.<sup>10</sup> When the chairman of its Illinois division remarked, "You can't recover prosperity by seizing the accumulation of the thrifty and distributing it to the thriftless and the unlucky," the League was explicitly charging the American people with careless living habits or asking them to accept all the bad luck reflected in unemployment statistics with patience and good humor.<sup>11</sup> When the League found a farmer, one Elmer Willis Serl, Route One, Delavan, Wisconsin, who would say for publication that "the farmer without anything North or South of his neck . . . needs a prod in the pants and not a pat on the back," American humanitarianism was unimpressed. Partly because the League either did not care to or found no way to enlist on its side this well-developed and characteristic American sentiment, it invited failure.<sup>12</sup>

And if it did not care to make use of the strength which might be derived from an ingrained humanitarian impulse, neither could it depend upon humor as a weapon with which to attack the New Deal and its works. Laughter as an instrument of political warfare in America perhaps reached its refinement in the homely political speeches of Abraham Lincoln, but the value of humor in the art of persuasion may be recognized as a constant in American life, from the witticisms of Ben Franklin through Franklin Roosevelt's remarks about his dog Fala before the Teamsters Union in 1944. Yet, humor could not be put to work for the American Liberty League. It sought laughs in an enumeration of the activities of the Works Progress Administration: rat extermination campaigns, music lessons, art projects, library cataloging, and dances by Sally Rand, the fan dancer. The laughter, however, was hollow, for whatever one might say about the New Deal, the underlying problems with which it was confronted could not be laughed at.<sup>13</sup> Quite the reverse was true of the Liberty League. Senator Borah, a year after the *Times* had mistakenly announced that he was a backer of the League, declared of the Du Ponts: "They were deeply moved about the Constitution

<sup>9</sup> American Liberty League, Document 28, *Government by Experiment*, NBC speech of Apr. 17, 1935, by Dr. Neil Carothers, director of the College of Business Administration, Lehigh University, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Bulletin 2 (September, 1935), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Document 29, Ralph M. Shaw, chairman of the Illinois Division of the American Liberty League, speech before the Georgia Bar Association, Sea Island, May 31, 1935, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Leaflet 5, *A Farmer Speaks* (1936?).

<sup>13</sup> Document 78, *Work Relief* (November, 1935), p. 15.

of the United States. They had just discovered it.”<sup>14</sup> In Richmond an assemblyman addressed the Virginia legislature, defining a Liberty Leaguer as “a man who is a Republican but ashamed of it, [or] a man raised as a Democrat who’s become able to buy flour by the barrel and sugar by the sack, made one trip to New York and bought a forked-tail coat and stove-pipe hat.”<sup>15</sup> Franklin Roosevelt, selecting Wilmington as the scene of his last address outside New York in the 1936 campaign, took the opportunity to speak on “Liberty,” recounting an old tale of Lincoln’s about the wolf who, having been torn from the neck of an innocent lamb by a shepherd, complained to the shepherd that he was being deprived of his liberty.<sup>16</sup> For better or worse, the complaints of the wealthy in times of economic distress are a better source of humor than are the discontent and the misery of the many. The effectiveness of Liberty League humor was limited to the already convinced—the economically wealthy and powerful and their apologists and defenders in the bar associations, universities, and the major political parties.

In the 1930’s an organization with “sound” American principles might have been expected to attain a membership of more than 150,000 at its peak, without the assistance of a humanitarian impulse or the sanction of humor. But it could not go much beyond 150,000 if it turned its back upon the common man or insincerely used the cult which had enthroned him. Jouett Shouse, president of the League—onetime chairman of the Democratic party’s executive committee and former head of the Association against the Eighteenth Amendment, when interviewed in August, 1934, on the ambitions and intentions of his organization, told reporters that he expected to enlist two to three million people in the crusade.<sup>17</sup> The next day the *Times* reported that his estimates had been revised upward to four million.<sup>18</sup> Representative James W. Wadsworth, one of the first officers of the League and a former Republican senator from New York, announced that “the first step will be organization into several divisions, organizing farmers, laborers, the investing public and other groups that are all in the same boat.”<sup>19</sup> The chairman of the Missouri division of the League, in November, 1934, told a radio audience that the organization was created to give the citizens of the country “the means for collective expression of public opinion”; a similar sentiment had been expressed in the platform of the League, which declared that it

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 11, 1936.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1936.

<sup>16</sup> Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, V (New York, 1938), 557-58. Wilmington, Delaware, Oct. 29, 1936.

<sup>17</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 23, 1934.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1934.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

would "provide for the rank and file of the American people . . . an opportunity . . . to offset the influence of any and all groups working for selfish purposes."<sup>20</sup> Thus, the Liberty League presented itself to the American people as a popular movement, designed to give them a voice in the affairs of their government; to this degree the American Liberty League bowed to the cult of the common man. In Moscow, *Izvestia* reported, "The League does not intend to limit itself to the upper strata of society; it aims to conquer the masses."<sup>21</sup>

The record, however, is sufficient evidence of the degree to which the common man failed to respond. No labor or farm divisions of the League were ever formed; indeed, the League's only interest-group subsidiary was its National Lawyers Committee, composed largely of corporation lawyers. Furthermore, its suggestion that the American people needed the American Liberty League to represent them ran counter to a trust in the effectiveness of popular government.<sup>22</sup> For an organization which had no membership fees or dues, 75,000 members in its first seventeen months was not a very convincing showing despite Shouse's feeling that the receipt of one and two dollar donations meant that the League was reaching "far down into the mass of American people."<sup>23</sup> At a luncheon meeting of the American Liberty League of New York, held in the Empire State Building, Shouse told his listeners that he was "delighted to have the opportunity to address this club which . . . represents in its membership and its affiliations an excellent cross section of the great metropolis of America."<sup>24</sup> Eighteen months later in an official publication the League declared that it would "continue to emphasize the protection of the rights of the masses."<sup>25</sup> Whether these statements were born of hypocrisy or of ignorance is not so important as the fact that they all were a tribute to the common man whom the League somehow hoped to win by defending, its protestations to the contrary, the privileges of wealth and position. The League, like the values which it upheld, was in a sense trapped in a complex of annoying facts and prevailing values which could not

<sup>20</sup> Document 74, *The National Lawyers Committee of the American Liberty League*, radio address of Ethan A. H. Shepley, chairman of the Missouri Division, broadcast over Station KMOX, St. Louis, Nov. 6, 1935, p. 2. Also, *American Liberty League: Its Platform* (Washington, 1934).

<sup>21</sup> P. Lapinski in *Izvestia*, quoted in "A Russian on the A.L.L.," *Living Age*, vol. 347 (November, 1934), 277-78.

<sup>22</sup> Patrick J. Hurley, Herbert Hoover's Secretary of War, refused to join the group. "I am opposed," he said, "to minorities trying to rule the nation. It is ridiculous for any class to come forward with the statement that it is not represented. Every district elects a Congressman and every state two Senators." *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1934.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1934.

<sup>24</sup> Document 25, *Congress at the Crossroads*, Jouett Shouse to the American Liberty League Club of New York, Mar. 30, 1935, broadcast by CBS, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Bulletin, Aug. 15, 1936, p. 1.

be shoved aside; its trials were made more apparent by the necessity of masquerading a defense of property and wealth as a popular movement. A recurring theme in its publications and its sponsored radio addresses was a fear of the redistribution of American wealth, an embarrassing fear for a popular movement. In its active years it agreed with Franklin Roosevelt exactly twice: in his opposition to the soldier's bonus and to the thirty-hour week.

Caring no more for the common man than the minimum requirements of public relations demanded, the Liberty League, nonetheless, could have built a larger popular following had it adopted the techniques of the demagogues who were amassing a more impressive membership in such groups as the Townsend clubs, Share-the-Wealth clubs, and in the Union for Social Justice. Its appeal, however, was pitched on a level which placed its emphasis upon the defense of something which most Americans had very little of—property. The truly popular movements of the decade, the New Deal included, promised something specific for the common man, for the aged, for the economically underprivileged, while the Liberty League offered rather to protect property holders from the people and from their government in Washington. That the League's ambitions grew out of a misreading of the American temper becomes rather apparent when one considers that the untold efforts of an elaborate Washington headquarters and staff offices throughout the country and the expenditure of over a million dollars went into a movement whose results were so pitifully disappointing; the League, after all, turned its guns on the New Deal in 1934 only to see it overwhelmingly returned to office in 1936. The emotive symbols which it used—the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the Declaration of Independence—and the American heroes to whom it appealed for sanction—Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln—have generally been extremely useful in manufacturing mass opinion in the United States, but the symbols and the sanctions must also have been put to use for something the people wanted. In the 1930's the cult of the common man had become sufficiently embedded in American society to make clear that any pressure group or political organization must disregard it at its own peril; the American Liberty League learned the very hardest way that the common man, who started on his way up under the auspices of Andrew Jackson, had replaced the industrial leader in giving the directions in American life.

With similar peril, it ignored the emphasis which Americans had placed upon equality. Freedom and liberty were part and parcel of the American Way, but as the defenders of a freedom which, when fostered by giant cor-

porations, at least looked like license, the League was even more suspect because of its silence on the compelling American value of equality.

The potential League member might listen to its spokesmen on the radio or read its profusion of pamphlets and bulletins without discerning any awareness of the equalitarian strain in American thinking. Few League officials were as outspokenly antiequalitarian as Frederick H. Stinchfield in an address at Salt Lake City, where he quoted generously from Alexis Carrel, whose observations were so completely contrary to American aspiration. "The democratic ideal has already determined the predominance of the weak," Stinchfield quoted from Carrel. "The only way to obviate the disastrous predominance of the weak is to develop the strong. . . . Today the weak should not be artificially maintained in wealth and power. . . . Each individual must rise or sink to the level for which he is fitted by the quality of his tissues and of his soul."<sup>26</sup> Yet, if few went so far as Stinchfield, none showed much more concern for equality than Raoul E. Desvernine, chairman of the League's lawyers division, who went no further than the expression of a common League platitude in Chicago when he insisted, "All have equality of rights under the Constitution and before the law."<sup>27</sup> Actually, the League's interest in equality was a somewhat obverse one: it was willing that Christian ministers direct themselves toward the business of building Christians of equal character, so long as they ceased "wasting time on the superficial" social and economic problems of the time;<sup>28</sup> it was eager that a greater equality of taxation be introduced since "interest in good government would be heightened if a larger number of persons were required to pay some tax."<sup>29</sup> But it had no serious interest in opening wider the avenues of social and economic opportunity by means of education or the various legislative measures of the New Deal. The League might have convinced some one that it was seriously concerned about equality of economic opportunity had it remembered at any time during the course of its history the position which its first statement of principles and purposes had taken on monopoly. At that time the League had announced that it was opposed to the spread of monopolies. By subsequently ignoring the question it gave eloquent testimony to the insincerity of that position. The League, indeed, had cut out an impossible job for itself, when one considers that it ambitiously hoped to

<sup>26</sup> Document 90, *The Constitution—Whose Heritage?* (Salt Lake City, January, 1936), p. 6. Stinchfield found further sanction in quotations from *The Federalist* and from John Marshall.

<sup>27</sup> Document 88, *Americanism at the Crossroads*, speech of Raoul E. Desvernine, before the Republican Round Table Luncheon, Hamilton Republican Club, Chicago, Jan. 15, 1936, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Document 43, *The Duty of the Church to the Social Order*, speech of S. Wells Utley, member National Advisory Council, American Liberty League, before Michigan Association of Congregational Churches, May 21, 1935.

<sup>29</sup> Document 83, *A Program for Congress* (December, 1935), p. 12.



accomplish its purposes by ignoring the common man and by refusing to call upon either the humanitarian or equalitarian values in American society. The Liberty Leaguers either did not know their country or they were unusually adept at planning failure.

Perhaps the most curious facet of the League's history was the fiction of nonpartisanship, maintained and nurtured from its origins until its dying day. Shouse, for instance, disclosed the plans and intentions of the League in a visit to the White House in early August, 1934, asking if the President objected.<sup>30</sup> When he told the press of the new organization on August 22, 1934, he remarked, "It is definitely not anti-Roosevelt."<sup>31</sup> In April, 1936, and later during the presidential campaign of that year, League officials reiterated that their group was a "nonpartisan organization founded to defend the Constitution." Only incidentally, they said, do we find ourselves opposed to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.<sup>32</sup> The lengths to which nonpartisanship could be taken was demonstrated by James M. Beck, League official and former solicitor general of the United States, when he asked in a speech whether it could possibly be that "the American people will abandon the faith of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson and Hamilton, of Marshall and Lincoln, of Cleveland and McKinley . . ."<sup>33</sup> When the electorate of every state but Maine and Vermont returned Franklin Roosevelt to the White House in November, 1936, the League began to prune its staff and gave up its custom of issuing periodic press releases; Washington observers then predicted that, in line with the League's history of pseudo nonpartisanship, "after a decent interval has demonstrated that the League's career was not coeval with the campaign against President Roosevelt, sustenance will be withdrawn and the League will disappear."<sup>34</sup> Whatever the reasons, the League acted accordingly.

Strategically, there were two serious handicaps in the position of virtuous nonpartisanship which the League pretended to maintain. It fooled no one; and it amounted to a self-imposed limitation on the kind of attack which could be made upon the New Deal and Franklin Roosevelt. Americans prefer to attack men rather than issues, a preference which may be a function of their devotion to individualism or of their wariness of ideas; in any case, however, the League could not and did not involve itself in concerted per-

<sup>30</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1934. Roosevelt responded that it was none of his business, but, even so, he had no objection.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1934.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1936. See also Document 6, *Progress vs. Change*, speech of Jouett Shouse before Bond Club of New York, Nov. 20, 1934.

<sup>33</sup> Document 22, *What Is the Constitution between Friends?*, speech of James M. Beck, Mar. 27, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1936.

sonal attacks upon the President or upon the personalities of the administration. On the other hand, the New Dealers themselves had no qualms about their own partisanship, and the Liberty League, for them, became synonymous with Du Pont, economic royalists, and money bags; indeed, even after its expiration, the League was a symbol of selfish greed and special interests. The fact, moreover, that all six of the original officers were determined opponents of the New Deal destroyed the effect of nonpartisanship which its mixed Republican and Democratic membership was supposed to convey.<sup>35</sup> For a while the League did appear to be composed of more Democrats than Republicans, but by January, 1936, when the League sponsored a well-publicized dinner in Washington at which Al Smith attacked the New Deal, Arthur Krock was writing in the *Times* that the "members of the League might be classed as the most conservative group in the country today. . . . The League is dominated by Republicans." Considering what the Liberty League appeared to be—"a conservative group, inimical to the President and his policies, political in personnel, financed by the Du Ponts and created for the sole purpose of bringing back the Old Deal"—it is understandable why the backers of the League expected that a rational "non-partisan" position might be advantageous to its growth.<sup>36</sup> The League had tried to adopt the protective coloration of a popular movement without taking very seriously the problems of the common man and by ignoring the equalitarian emphasis in American values; when it sought further to disguise its backing and its purposes by calling them nonpartisan, it opened itself to the charge of gross hypocrisy.

The New Deal, on the other hand, found ready ideological and psychological material in its attack upon the depression and upon its critics in the manifest divergence between theory and practice in American life, as well as in a growing popular frustration which had grown out of unrealistic expectations nurtured by the national faith. The League's devotion to the American success story was probably of more assistance to its critics than to itself. For, although it might insist that "equality of opportunity has prevailed under the American form of government" and that "poor boys in almost countless numbers have amassed wealth with no capital except ambition, energy . . . thrift . . . and the incentive of the private property system," such declarations in the depth of the depression were strong reminders of a

<sup>35</sup> The first six officers of the League were Jouett Shouse, Democrat and politician; John W. Davis, Democrat and politician; Alfred E. Smith, Democrat and politician; Nathan I. Miller, Republican and politician; James W. Wadsworth, Republican and politician; and Irénée du Pont, Democrat and industrialist.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur Krock, *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1934.

very real disparity between promise and performance in American life.<sup>37</sup> John J. Raskob, using the story of his rise from rags to riches as an argument for joining the League, was, in the 1930's, too far removed from the experience of most Americans to do much more than remind them that times had surely changed.<sup>38</sup> The League was not interested in the economic and social realities which confronted the American people; its concern was with the ideology and the constitutional framework which, with other factors, had enabled young men in the past to amass great fortunes and to arrive at stations in life which carried prestige and power. In better times, its thoroughly American philosophy might have had greater devotion; in bad times, however, other values which the League could not suppress were bound to flourish—humanitarianism, equalitarianism, and concern over the malfunctioning of the national ideology.

The performance of the League was little better designed to bring the desired results than was its approach. Its first and almost only practical alternative to the New Deal was to suggest that the Red Cross be commissioned to handle all direct relief.<sup>39</sup> The effect of its pronouncements on the unconstitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act was to encourage industrialists to disregard the collective bargaining provisions of the legislation, throwing struggling unions into courts all over the country and leading eventually to the sit-down strikes of 1936.<sup>40</sup> It discovered that Thomas Jefferson proved to be a more effective symbol for the left than for the right, even though he once had said that “were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread.”<sup>41</sup> The presence of twelve Du Ponts at its 1936 dinner at which Al Smith spoke destroyed the desired effect of the presence of the boy from the streets of the East Side; indeed, when Smith spent the summer of 1936 in a more concerted attack on the New Deal, he carefully refrained from accepting Liberty League sponsorship. In 1936, too, the Republican party asked the Liberty League, by then a political liability, to “stay aloof from too close alliance with the Landon campaign”: the League co-operated by announcing that it would remain nonpartisan during the campaign, and it never did endorse Landon.<sup>42</sup> When

<sup>37</sup> *What Is the Constitution between Friends?* p. 18.

<sup>38</sup> *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1936. This was a page-1 story.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1934. The suggestion was made by Shouse in a speech before the Beacon Society of Boston the night before.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1937.

<sup>41</sup> Document 58, *The Imperilment of Democracy*, radio address of Fitzgerald Hall, president of the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railway Co., under auspices of Kentucky Division of the American Liberty League, July 18, 1935.

<sup>42</sup> *New York Times*, July 1, 1936. The front-page headline of the *Times* declared: “‘Non-partisan’ Fight on Roosevelt Is Opened by the Liberty League.”

the League sponsored a six-day institute at the University of Virginia on "The Constitution and the New Deal," Virginius Dabney, the Richmond editor, reported that "the audiences were so openly hostile to the League and its spokesmen that the round table proved something of a boomerang."<sup>43</sup> Congressional investigations disclosed that the guiding figures of the League were large contributors to all and sundry anti-New Deal groups; the Du Pont brothers, Alfred Sloan, and John J. Raskob were the principal financial backers, for instance, of the Southern Democratic convention at Macon in 1936, when Eugene Talmadge made his bid for the presidency, with the assistance of Gerald L. K. Smith, inheritor of the toga of Huey Long; lesser right-wing groups like the Crusaders, Sentinels of the Republic, National Conference of Investors, and the Farmers' Independence Council—most of them masthead organizations, operated by professional publicists and lobbyists, many of whom, like the principal officers and backers of the League, were veterans of the prohibition repeal movement—owed substantial financial backing to the same small group of industrialists who sponsored the Liberty League. A *Times* editorial observed at the time that the League's founders were making some rather poor investments.<sup>44</sup>

In an imaginary conversation between a Future Historian and a Future Historian's Wife, Hamilton Basso in the *New Republic* in 1936 caused his historian's wife to ask: "There's one thing I'd like to know. Why was the Liberty League founded?" The Future Historian answered: "That's another mystery. It is as if a band of men joined together to assassinate their best friend. It comes under the head of abnormal psychology. My friend Jones has written an excellent monograph on the subject . . . called 'An Investigation into the Behavior of Millionaires When Affected by a Severe Case of the Jitters.' . . . In answer to your question, however, it is fairly safe to say that the Liberty League was formed to defeat Roosevelt II."<sup>45</sup> Basso, his Future Historian, and the historian's friend Jones were all quite right as far as they went, but a look at the Liberty League is more than a case study in opposition to the New Deal or in millionaire jitters. It is, as well, a study of the anguish of American values in a time of severe economic collapse. Both the League and the New Deal were constructed of American materials, but those which went into the New Deal, given the facts with which they were intended to cope, built a more durable structure.

On September 24, 1940, the *New York Times*, in a small item on page 20,

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, July 21, 1935.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1936.

<sup>45</sup> Hamilton Basso, "The Liberty League Writes," *New Republic*, XXCVII (July 22, 1936), 319-21.

announced that the American Liberty League, after four years of silence, had expired; it stated simply that "Recently . . . the offices in the National Press Club were closed." Four years earlier a Yale professor had prematurely concluded that "had it not been for the American Liberty League with its constant exposition, exposure, and panning, the New Deal would have set its roots and claws more deeply into our national flesh and it would have taken years to extricate it."<sup>46</sup> Professor Westerfield's misreading of the times and of the possibilities of the League had been symbolic of the League's approach and performance. It had misread American history and character; it had misjudged contemporary opinion, drawing on the development of a business civilization, romantic individualism, concern for liberty, and the worship of success and power and prestige as the sole ingredients of its construction of the American Way. It had maintained the obvious fiction of nonpartisanship long after it was apparent to everyone that its aims were political. It became a symbol of greed, reaction, and coldhearted constitution worship; while it defended liberty, it scorned equality—at a time when economic and social facts provided more fertile soil for an equalitarian emphasis. It failed to develop into the mass movement it had anticipated, permitting all that was American about humanitarianism, the cult of the common man, equalitarianism, and concern for ideological performance to be poured into the edifice which the New Deal was constructing on the ruins of nineteenth century individualism and liberalism.

*Williams College*

<sup>46</sup> Leaflet 4, *The American Liberty League*. Dr. Ray Bert Westerfield, professor of political economy, Yale University, reprinted from the *New Haven Register*, Jan. 27, 1936.

# The Archives and Libraries of Postwar Germany

LESTER K. BORN

THE title of this paper has been chosen not without some thought, and therefore not without purpose. Under it one may essay many things, and that I have attempted to do. One may assume that historians will want to know the physical fate of German archives and libraries, because these archives and libraries provide the raw materials for research in many fields. One also may assume that certain specialists will want to know more; they will want to know what has taken place in addition to the physical manifestations. Those who are concerned with the history of institutions will want to know what has taken place with respect to archival and library schools, what developments have occurred in points of view, what new arrangements have appeared. All will want to know how the postwar position of archives and libraries is related to the postwar position of German intellectual life.

The German archives, which came into being in the sixteenth century, have always been agencies of the administration, and have always been staffed with archivists who regarded themselves primarily as servants of the state. In time they recognized their responsibilities to the research scholar but never have they thought of the papers in their custody as the treasure-trove of the people, as something which should be used to bring back the past and to contribute to the cultural enjoyment of the general public. Not only were the archives bureaucratic in concept, but by nature they were nationalistic. Whereas libraries and museums by their very nature are storehouses of the cultural heritage of all the world, an archive which went beyond the bounds of its own territory would be an anomaly. On the other hand, the German libraries, which spring largely from royal and princely endowments, were created first for the enjoyment of those who founded them, and subsequently passed into the hands of the state and so became accessible at least to certain strata of the people. The university libraries developed *pari passu* with the institutions which they served. It would be a mistake, however, not to realize the strong elements of nationalism in German libraries evidenced by the content of their collections, by their organization, by their attitude toward the reader. The librarians, like the archivists, were also bureaucratic. The *Volksbüchereien*, the libraries of the people, which were developed fully only in the



latter part of the nineteenth century, have a history of their own which is not interwoven with that of scholarship and international cultural relations.

It would be futile to attempt to establish the precise number of libraries and archives in Germany. What is the limit below which no recognition is given? It would be equally futile to attempt to enumerate precisely the exclusive categories of institutions on the basis of data furnished by standard reference works such as the various *Minerva Handbücher* and the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Bibliotheken*. It is possible, however, to develop certain figures which will serve as indexes to totals, to areas of concentration.

In the war years, when it was essential that the United States have a firm knowledge of the essential German archives both as sources of information to exploit and as cultural properties to protect, several emergency publications appeared.<sup>1</sup> In one of these some 472 German archives were listed. Of the 13 marked as of the highest importance, 4 are in the U.S. zone. Of the 34 shown as of great importance, 15 are in the U.S. zone. Of 84 which are of considerable importance, 21 are in the U.S. zone. Of the 341 which are of general importance, 104 are in the U.S. zone. This arbitrarily delineated area, the U.S. zone, which truncates two former sovereign states, Württemberg and Baden, is nevertheless a convenient yardstick by which to measure quantities in Germany. It embraces an area which is approximately 30 per cent of the total area of occupied Germany, that is, Germany less "New Poland," and it contains approximately 30 per cent of the total population. The 144 important archives in the U.S. zone constitute approximately 30 per cent of the total number of such institutions in the Germany of 1938, and would, therefore, constitute a higher percentage for occupied Germany. Much the same situation exists with respect to the libraries.<sup>2</sup> Of the 50-odd university and college (*Hochschule*) libraries in all Germany, 20 are found in the U.S. zone. Of the 30-odd state libraries, 12 are found in the U.S. zone. Of the 20-odd academy libraries, 8 are found in the U.S. zone. Therefore, of some 200 selected scholarly libraries in prewar Germany, about 72, or 33 per cent, are to be found in the U.S. zone, that is, in 30 per cent of the territory which embraces approximately 30 per cent of the population.

Even at this date probably no one can give a precise estimate of the war losses of German archives and libraries. Probably the only accurate statement will be that losses consistently appear to be less than first announced.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., War Department Pamphlet 31-180, *Archival Repositories in Germany* (Washington, 1944); SHAEF, *Official General List of Archives in Western Germany* (London, 1945); *id.*, *Official General List of Archives in the Berlin Area* (London, 1945); War Department Pamphlet 31-123, *Preservation and Use of Key Records in Germany* (Washington, 1944).

<sup>2</sup> The figures used in this paragraph are based upon the indexes to *Minerva-Handbücher: Die Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1929).

Prewar Germany was reputed to have possessed some 56 million books in her scholarly libraries. It is said that 3,600,000 have been lost along with the eastern territories, that 15,000,000 were lost by direct action of the war.<sup>3</sup> Significant libraries in the U.S. zone have reported losses of more than 3,850,000 volumes. Some of the most significant libraries suffered spectacular losses amounting to 90 per cent, with the result that the total loss is perhaps approximately 30 per cent. On the whole, losses to archival collections were less disastrous than were those to libraries; in fact, by comparison one may say that they were slight.

Basic data for the postwar condition of German libraries must be sought first of all from the work of Georg Leyh,<sup>4</sup> whose book, published in 1947, is a monument to the initiative, the imagination, the strength of one man against the collapse resulting from total war, and to the spirit of co-operation from those who responded to his inquiries. No one who did not know Germany in the period immediately following the unconditional surrender can really grasp the achievement of Leyh. More recent information appears at some length in feature articles and briefly in notes in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*,<sup>5</sup> and in regular series in the *Nachrichten für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken*.<sup>6</sup> The most recent accumulative data are found in *Deutschland-Jahrbuch*, a new publication.<sup>7</sup> In the early days immediately

<sup>3</sup> These figures represent a compromise between a number of undocumented estimates.

<sup>4</sup> Georg Leyh, *Die deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Krieg* (Tübingen, 1947). I have described this book in some detail in my review of it in *American Archivist*, XI (July, 1948), 263-65. Leyh used much of his material in his article, "Die Lage der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Kriege," *Europa-Archiv*, I (October-November, 1946), 234-40. See also, under the same title, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok-och biblioteksväsen*, XXXIV (no. 2, 1947), 59-80. Leyh has supplemented his book with an article that contains little new material in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LXI (no. 1-2, 1947), 19-32.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., "Wiedereröffnung der deutschen Bücherei für die Allgemeinheit," *Zentralblatt*, LXI (no. 5-6, 1947), 217-32; E. Mehl, "Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München," *ibid.*, LXI (no. 5-6, 1947), 282-83; *id.*, *ibid.*, LXII (May-June, 1948), 158-59. The "news and notes" section of the *Zentralblatt* carries a good deal of information in each number.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., "Marburg: Hessische Bibliothek," *Nachrichten für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken*, I (October-November, 1948), 24-27. This item is from Volume I, nos. 1 and 2. In the year and a half since this periodical first started, some libraries have been reported upon more than once. Since there is no cumulative index as yet, one must search the file for information on a specific institution. Reports are given in each number.

<sup>7</sup> Klaus Mehnert and Heinrich Schulte, eds., *Deutschland-Jahrbuch* (Essen, 1949). The information in this book covers the period May 7, 1945, to Fall, 1948. Part IV is entitled "Kirche, Erziehung, Wissenschaft" (pp. 311-88). Libraries are discussed on pages 380-88. Part V is entitled "Kunst und Kultur," and covers the subjects of literature, publishing, art, museums, music, theater, film, radio. Archives are nowhere included. In addition to providing a table which shows the condition of library buildings, the holdings in 1942, the losses of books by number, the losses by subject groups, the losses of catalogs, the degree to which the library is usable, the section provides a good condensation of key information. One finds such diverse items as the statement that before the war some 3,300 libraries of a public nature contained a total of 85 million volumes; that the Prussian State Library, which formerly provided 1,000 seats in its reading room, now, in the postwar role of the Öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, is able to provide only 100 seats; that the State Library at Karlsruhe, the university libraries at Hamburg, Münster, and Würzburg, the municipal library at Leipzig, and the college (*Hochschule*)

after the cessation of active hostilities there was a rash of brief notices, reports, and similar items in the professional literature of the Western countries, especially England and the United States.<sup>8</sup> The avidity with which each scrap of information was seized upon is readily understandable, and the small total of information gleaned is equally understandable.<sup>9</sup> Special reports from the presidents of both the Association of German Librarians and of the Association of German Archivists summarize the data for the two types of institutions.<sup>10</sup> A few very large institutions have allowed themselves the luxury of a special brochure.<sup>11</sup> For the archives the only regular source of information is the uniformly detailed series of reports upon state, county, municipal, noble, ecclesiastical, and business archives in the three western zones of Germany which have appeared in the relatively new professional journal, *Der Archivar*.<sup>12</sup> There is one compendious report in the excellent postwar intellectual

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library in Berlin all lost their complete catalogs. As background against which to evaluate this information one should read such studies as that of R. T. Esterquest, "A Statistical Contribution to the Study of Libraries in Contemporary Germany," *Library Quarterly*, XI (January, 1941), 1-35.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., "Library Damage Spotty in Berlin," *Library Journal*, LXX (Nov. 1, 1945), 1104; J. B. Eby, "Goethe Library," *ibid.*, LXXI (Apr. 1, 1946), 464-65; "The Landesbibliothek of Württemberg Reopened at Stuttgart, 21 February 1946," *ibid.*, LXXI (May 1, 1946), 640-41; Wilhelm Sandfuchs, "The Libraries of Baden during the War," *ibid.*, LXXI (May 1, 1946), 641-42, a translation of his article which appeared originally in the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*; "More German Book Losses," *ibid.*, LXXI (June 15, 1946), 878; R. H. Stich, "The Prussian State Library," *Library Association Record*, XLVIII (August, 1946), 202-203; "Book Losses during the War," *American-German Review*, XII (August, 1946), 33-34; Wilhelm Hoffmann, "German Libraries and the War," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXXII (October, 1946), 401-403; L. H. Lindner, "Berlin: Its Postwar Library Resources," *Library Journal*, LXXI (Oct. 15, 1946), 1439-43; Rudolf Hirsch, "Libraries in the U. S. Zone," *ibid.*, LXXI (Dec. 15, 1946), 1797. See also L. Brummel, "Die vertriezen der Duitsche bibliotheken," *Bibliotheekleven*, XXXI (October, 1946), 127-28, and *ibid.*, XXXI (December, 1946), 169, as an example of the items taken directly from European sources. These two short notices are based respectively upon information which appeared in a Swiss paper and upon a traveler's report. For Dutch and other early foreign reports upon archives, see note 14, below. A major item, which represented a major effort at that time, also appeared in the article by Richard S. Hill, "The Former Prussian State Library," *Music Library Association Notes*, ser. 2, III (September, 1946), 327-50. A more recent extensive item is that by Richard Spencer, "The German Patent Office," *Patent Office Society Journal*, XXXI (February, 1949), 79-87.

<sup>9</sup> For the earliest period, the best source of detailed information on cultural institutions in the American zone still is the file of consolidated monthly reports prepared by the officers of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section in the military government for each *Land*. The information in this file may be supplemented by reference to the questionnaires completed by the directors of archives and libraries at the instance of American military government in 1946 and 1947. Similar data was acquired by the other military governments, at least in the west.

<sup>10</sup> These reports were given at the first postwar meeting of the German Historical Association held in Munich, September 12-15, 1949, by Dr. Bernhard Vollmer, director of the State Archives at Düsseldorf and president of the Society of German Archivists, and by Dr. Gustav Hofmann, director general of the State Libraries of Bavaria and president of the Society of German Librarians. See *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXIX (December, 1949), 669.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Hermann Tiemann, *Der Wiederaufbau der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek bis zum Ende des Jahres 1945* (Hamburg, 1946).

<sup>12</sup> "Lageberichte der Staats-, Stadt-, Kirchen- und Wirtschaftsarchive der britischen Zone," *Der Archivar*, I (August, 1947), 13-41; G. W. Sante, "Lageberichte der Staats-, Stadt- und Kirchenarchive der amerikanischen Zone," *ibid.*, I (January, 1948), 51-68; F. Heberhold, "Die Archive in Südwestdeutschland nach dem Kriege," *ibid.*, I (January, 1948), 67-72; "Kriegsschutz-

periodical, *Europa-Archiv*,<sup>13</sup> and there are various reports in the foreign professional literature; for example, *Historisk tidskrift*, *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, *Rivista storica italiana*, and *Archivi italiani*.<sup>14</sup>

The tabulation which follows shows in rough form the postwar situation with respect to some 40-odd state archives and nearly 60 state and university libraries.<sup>15</sup> While those whose interests concern them with the family collections will object to the exclusion of this group from the table, the inclusion would have meant increase into unwieldy bulk. Expansion to cover other types would have meant reproduction of all the prime sources. Unfortunately it is impractical, indeed impossible, to attempt the one item which everyone would like to have, namely, the exact extent of damage to the building and

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und Rückführungsmassnahmen und deren Erfahrungen sowie Verluste der Archive der britischen Zone," *ibid.*, I (May, 1948), 97-134 and I (August, 1948), 169-78; A. Schmidt, "Lageberichte der Staats-, Stadt-, Kreis- und Kirchenarchive in Rheinland-Pfalz," *ibid.*, I (August, 1948), 147-58; "Lageberichte der Adelsarchive der amerikanischen, französischen und britischen Zone," *ibid.*, I (August, 1948), 157-70; Carl Wilkes, "Die Sicherung der nichtstaatlichen Archive der Rheinprovinz gegen Kriegeinwirkungen," *ibid.*, I (August, 1948), 177-82; "Die Schicksale der grösseren sächsischen Archive," *ibid.*, I (August, 1948), 181-84; Rudolf Wenisch, "Neuaufbau des Bayerischen Verkehrsarchivs in Nürnberg," *ibid.*, II (January, 1949), 5-20; "Nachträge zu den Berichten der Staats-, Stadt- und Kirchenarchive," *ibid.*, II (January, 1949), 19-23; "Bericht über die Archive in Sachsen-Anhalt," *ibid.*, II (August, 1949), 53-58; Adolf Diestelkamp, "Die Lage der deutschen Ostarchive," *ibid.*, III (April, 1950), 78-94.

<sup>13</sup> Bernhard Vollmer, "Die Lage des deutschen Archivwesens nach dem Kriege," *Europa-Archiv*, III (October, 1948), 1623-28.

<sup>14</sup> Herman Brulin, "Tysklands Arkiv efter Kriget," *Historisk tidskrift*, LXVIII (no. 3, 1948), 276-85; "De Duitse archieven en de oorlog," *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, LII (no. 2, 1947-48), 107-11; *ibid.*, LIII (no. 1, 1948-49), 54; "Het archiefwezen in Duitsland en Oostenrijk na de oorlog," *ibid.*, LII (no. 3, 1947-48), 146-48; Karl A. Fink, "Biblioteche, archivi, istituti storici e riviste in Germania," *Rivista storica italiana*, XL (no. 4, 1948); Ahasver von Brandt, "Die norddeutschen Archive nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg," *Scandia*, XVIII (November, 1947); "Archivi Tedeschi," *Archivi*, 2d ser., XI-XVI (nos. 2-4, 1949), 212-13.

<sup>15</sup> Leyh, *Die deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Krieg*, gives data on approximately seventy libraries; the *Nachrichten* has printed more than 100 reports; the *Deutschland-Jahrbuch* tabulates information on approximately 80 libraries. The reports in *Der Archivar* cover more than 40 state, 100 city, 30 church, 200 family, 15 business archives. Information on archives and libraries in "New Poland" has not yet generally appeared in German sources. Here are a few references which, in the case of libraries, I can report only through the English abstracts in *Library Literature*, and, in the case of archives, only through the French titles and abstracts found in the original source. M. Des Loges, "Biblioteka miejska w Gdańsku [Danzig Municipal Library]," *Bibliotekarz*, XIII (June-July, 1946), 140-42, reports that this library formerly (1939) had 245,000 volumes. Part of these have been lost, but some 50,000 books abandoned in the area by the Germans have been added to the collection. About 50 per cent of the incunabula and manuscripts have been saved. H. H. Koszańska, "O Bibliotece Instytutu bałtyckiego [Libraries of the Baltic Institutes]," *ibid.*, XIII (October, 1946), 214-15, reports that the libraries of the Baltic Institutes of Danzig, Gdynia, Zoppot, Stettin now total about 25,000 volumes. Some 6,000 survived the war, and 19,000 were added in 1945-46. Of this latter number about 16,000 came from repositied German libraries such as that of the Gesellschaft für pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Marcin Dragnan, "L'inauguration des archives d'État à Gdańsk," *Archeion*, XVII (1948), 236-38. Tadeusz Kupczyński, "L'organisation d'avant-guerre des archives d'État à Gdańsk et leurs fonds actuels," *ibid.*, XVIII (1949), 87-102 (15-line abstract). Andrzej Dereń, "Les archives de la Basse-Silesie avant la deuxième guerre mondiale," *ibid.*, XVIII (1949), 131-54 (20-line abstract). Antoni Rybarski, "Compte rendu des travaux des Archives d'État dans la période 1945-47," *ibid.*, XVIII (1949), 218-69 (2-page abstract), which reports on Danzig, Kattowitz, Stettin, and Breslau. There is also a brief note entitled "Silezische archieven," in *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, LIII (no. 2, 1948-49), 95.

to the collections of each of the institutions mentioned. In the first place, what unequivocal measurements could be used? Would "30% destroyed" mean that 30 per cent of the total structure was demolished, or that 30 per cent of the area was no longer available? Is quantity or quality the criterion in giving percentage losses of archives and books? All that can be said is that, after reading the sources quoted, you know what is the postwar status of German archives and libraries in very considerable detail. I have tried to indicate here only the freedom from damage or destruction; a moderate degree which varies from negligible to considerable; a considerable degree which varies from considerable to very serious; and a serious degree which varies from very serious to total destruction. In spite of the subjective elements which are unavoidable in any such scheme, it appears to be the only practicable one.

KEY				
R	National		c	considerable
S	State		m	moderate
TH	College		o	none
U	University		s	serious
LOCATION	ARCHIVE	LIBRARY	DAMAGE	
			Building	Items
Aachen		TH	c	c
Altenburg		S	o	o
	S		?	o
Amberg	S		o	o
Augsburg		S	m	m
Aurich	S		m	m
Bamberg	S		m	o
		S	o	o
Berlin	S		s	s
	House		s	s
		S	s	s
		U	c	m
		TH	s	s
Bonn		U	s	c
Braunschweig		TH	s	c
Bremen	S		s	s
		S	c	s
Breslau	S		s	s
Bückeberg	S		o	o
Coburg	S		o	o
		S	o	o
Danzig	S		s	c
Darmstadt	S		s	s
		S	s	s
		TH	s	s

LOCATION	ARCHIVE	LIBRARY	DAMAGE	
			Building	Items
Dessau		S	s	c
Detmold	S		o	m
		S	o	m
Dortmund		S	s	s
Dresden	S		c	s
		S	s	c
		TH	s	s
Düsseldorf	S		s	c
		S	c	m
Erlangen		U	o	o
Frankfort	R		s	m
		U	s	s
Freiburg im Breisgau		U	c	m
Fulda		S	m	o
Giessen		U	s	s
Göttingen		U	s	m
Gotha		S	o	s <sup>16</sup>
	S		?	o
Greifswald		U	o	c
Greiz	S		?	o
Halle		U	o	m
Hamburg	S		s	c
		S	s	s
Hanover	S		s	s
		S	c	c
		TH	s	m
Heidelberg		U	o	m
Jena		U	s	m
Karlsruhe	S		o	o
		S	s	s
		TH	s	s
Kassel		S	s	s
Kiel	S (now Schleswig)		s	m
		S	s	m
		U	s	s
Koblenz	S		s	m
Köln (Cologne)		U	m	o
Königsberg	S		o	s
Landshut	S		o	o
Leipzig		U	s	m
		Deutsche Bücherei	s	m
Ludwigsburg	S		o	o

<sup>16</sup> According to Leyh in his book on the German research libraries, p. 99, this library lost most of its collections by confiscation: "Die . . . Bibliothek . . . wurde, nachdem sie den Krieg und das Jahr 1945 ohne grössere Verluste überstanden hatte, im ersten Vierteljahr 1946 auf Befehl der Sowjetischen Militär-Administration bis auf verhältnismässig geringe Reste abgebaut und aus Gotha abtransportiert. Die Bücherbestände sind in Kisten verpackt nach Moskau, resp. Russland abgeschickt worden."



LOCATION	ARCHIVE	LIBRARY	DAMAGE Building	Items
Lübeck	S		o	s
Magdeburg	S		m	m
Mainz		U	Founded May 1946	
Marburg	S		m	o
		U	m	c
		Westdeutsche Bibl.	Since 1946 only	
Meinigen	S		?	o
Münster	S		s	s
		U	s	s
Munich	S <sup>17</sup>		s	c
	House		s	c
	Privy		s	m
	Kreis		c	m
	Army		s	c
		S	s	c
		U	s	c
		TH	s	m
Neuburg a.D.	S		o	o
Nuremberg	S		s	o
Oldenburg	S		c	m
Osnabrück	S		s	o
Potsdam	R		s	s
Rostock		U	m	m
Rudolstadt	S		?	o
Speyer	S		o	m
Sigmaringen	S		o	o
	House		o	o
Schwerin		S	?	m
	S		?	m
Sondershausen	S		?	o
Stettin	S		o	s
Stuttgart	S		s	m
		S	s	s
		TH	s	s
Tübingen		U	o	o
Weimar		S	o	m
	S		?	c
Wiesbaden	S		c	m
		S	o	m
Wolfenbüttel	S		o	m
		S	o	o
Würzburg	S		s	s
		U	s	s
Zerbst	S		s	m
(now Dessau)				

<sup>17</sup> The Main State Archive at Munich consists of five sections (Main Archive, Privy House Archive, Privy State Archive, County Archive, former Army Archive) which were in a number of separate buildings.

The pre-eminence of the Berlin and Munich institutions demands special attention. The former Prussian State Library, which was, in effect, the national library of Germany and which provided the bibliographical services, the school facilities, the leadership in the profession which is needed for homogeneity, is now the Öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek. It is located in its original building, seriously damaged, on Unter den Linden, which means that it is in the Soviet sector of Berlin. It is, however, responsible not to the government of Berlin but to that of the Soviet zone with the result that it is one of several east zone libraries which are the equivalent of copyright deposit institutions for that zone. Some of the holdings of the library are, apparently, lost or still scattered in the Soviet zone or in "New Poland," where they had been stored by the Germans during the war. The library has been open since 1945. In the spring of 1946 some twenty-five freight carloads of books that had been stored in Czechoslovakia by the Germans, and which had been shipped by American forces to the U.S. zone, were returned to Berlin by order of the American military governor.<sup>18</sup> The core of the library, however, is not at Berlin. Some 250 boxes of manuscripts which had been evacuated by the Germans to a monastery in south Württemberg have long been available at the library of the University of Tübingen.<sup>19</sup> By direction of the American military government some 1,200 boxes of incunabula, manuscripts, and printed books scattered in various repositories in the U.S. zone were assembled in the castle at Marburg during the year 1947. Here more than 1,200,000 printed books, maps, and similar collections had already been assembled by the German government of Land Hesse at the direction of the American military government and housed in the building of the library of the University of Marburg. These materials, and those in the castle were turned over by the American military government to the minister president of Land Hesse as bailee for the German people in the fall of 1948. (The state of Prussia, you will recall, was abolished by the Allied Control Council in 1946.) These materials are now available directly and for interlibrary loan. The fact that the catalogs are in Berlin does not facilitate service. The director, however, has arranged the books on the shelves by class, so that a staff member or research scholar readily can locate the book if it is available.

<sup>18</sup> There is a good, recent report on the physical conditions in the Öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, on its activities, etc. in *Nachrichten*, II (October, 1949), 151-54, over the signature of Wolf Haenisch, deputy director of the library. For an early report on the major portion of the library now at Marburg, see the citation in note 6, above.

<sup>19</sup> According to *Nachrichten*, II (June, 1949), 93-94, they were the subject of a special exhibition in April and May, 1949. Some 340 boxes of manuscripts belonging to the University of Tübingen, which had been evacuated to a mine near Heilbronn in what is now the American zone, could not be returned to Tübingen before December, 1948. At that date the university library had already become host to some "homeless" items from Berlin, with the result that its own manuscripts had to be stored in nearby Schloss Bebenshausen.

Although the Germans have decided not to make this torso of their greatest library the nucleus of a central library in western Germany, they have denominated it the Westdeutsche Bibliothek, and the states of western Germany provide for its financial support.<sup>20</sup> The books of the University of Marburg are serviced through the building of the State Archives in which it has its reading room.

The story of the former Prussian Privy State Archives, now the Berliner Hauptarchiv, and of the former Brandenburg-Prussian House Archive is likewise a long one. The latter, located in what is now the British sector of Berlin, was totally destroyed and with it went a considerable portion of the collections. The former, located in the American sector, has lost about two thirds of its stacks and has suffered considerable damage to its administration building. The holdings of both, along with those of the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam, were evacuated to several mines not far from Magdeburg, in an area overrun by American troops but now in the Soviet zone. The vicissitudes of these collections have been considerable, but it appears that they will be established and rearranged at Merseburg in Land Sachsen-Anhalt.<sup>21</sup> Although there is much evidence from German reports that these collections have suffered severely from the depredations of souvenir hunters, black marketeers, and general malfeasance, apparently they now will be safeguarded but not returned to Berlin.

Less spectacular are the stories of the Bavarian State Archives and the Bavarian State Library. The building which they occupied jointly on Ludwigstrasse was completely burned out, except for one wing of the library. Space for these institutions, each now the greatest collections of their types which have survived at their original sites in Germany, has, quite incomprehensibly, not yet been provided by the German government of the state of Bavaria. The result is that these magnificent resources are available to users only to a very limited degree. Offices and reading rooms are located in a building partially derequisitioned by the American military government, but the bulk of the collections is not yet available.<sup>22</sup> The same story applies to the library of the University of Munich. The building is completely gutted by fire, and, although several reading rooms have been provided in various parts of the city, no centralized location for the collections has been provided by the German authorities.

Perhaps I can try to show in a few words how unpredictable is the story

<sup>20</sup> See *Nachrichten*, II (June, 1949), 83-89.

<sup>21</sup> *Der Archivar*, II (August, 1949), 55.

<sup>22</sup> Both the State Archives and the State Library had drawn up plans for the full use of the entire building in which they now share space with the Amerika-Haus, but it was impossible to put these plans into effect.

of any institution. In Hamburg the main building of the archives of this Hansa city was not too badly damaged; the secondary building in Altona was destroyed. The collections suffered only negligible damage. The State and University Library, on the other hand, lost its building through complete destruction and lost approximately 70 per cent of its collections either through direct war action or through the fact that the materials were evacuated to the eastern part of Germany.<sup>23</sup> In Koblenz the building of the State Archives was completely destroyed. The materials, which had been evacuated to Fortress Ehrenbreitstein on the heights across the river, were saved and are now being serviced from that venerable location. In Karlsruhe the State Archive of Baden suffered damage neither to building nor to collections. The State Library, on the other hand, is nothing but a shell, and it lost in the conflagration 360,000 of its 375,000 bound volumes. It has saved, however, its entire collection of manuscripts, incunabula, and other early works which had been evacuated. The library of the University of Heidelberg incurred no damage to its building. From its collections it lost in evacuation locations the larger part of two complete classes, classical philology and finance. The great family archive of the prince of Thurn und Taxis, which is the source of early postal history, was completely saved as was the library. On the other hand, the very considerable archive of the counts of Erbach, which had been removed to Darmstadt from its normal seat in the fastnesses of the Odenwald, was completely destroyed in the conflagration which gutted the building occupied jointly by the State Archives and State Library of Hesse, and which destroyed large parts of both collections. The library of the University of Göttingen lost its administration building and part of its stacks. Of its collections, which amounted to more than one million volumes, about 63,000 (of which, fortunately, 40,000 were duplicates) were destroyed in the mine to which they had been evacuated. If my memory does not play me false, this was the same mine in which the German army had seen fit, after the books had been installed there, to store a large quantity of artillery ammunition which, failing to recognize the unconditional surrender, exploded in 1945. The archive of the Hansa city of Lübeck claims for itself the dubious honor of being the worst damaged of all archives in the western zones; it announces losses up to 48 per cent by quantity and 95 per cent by quality. Its holdings were evacuated to the eastern part of Germany.

The unique fate of the library of the University of Giessen is an appropriate close for this section. The former university is now the Justus Liebig Hochschule für Bodenkultur und Veterinärmedizin. In the ruins of the main

<sup>23</sup> *Nachrichten*, I (October–November, 1948), 18.

university library there is still the catalog, the bindery, other administrative offices, and (as of 1948) the papyri and ostraca, incunabula, manuscripts, diplomata, and similar treasures. The seminar libraries, scattered about the neighborhood, are essentially intact. The books of the Indo-Germanic, Oriental, classical, archaeological, German, and Romance seminars were to go on "permanent loan" to the University of Frankfurt; the American section of the English seminar to the University of Marburg; a large part of the Art Institute to the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt; and a large part of the law seminar to the ministry of justice in Wiesbaden and the Landgericht (State Court) in Giessen.<sup>24</sup>

It is the war in the broadest interpretation of that term, not the limited sense of bombing and shooting and burning, that has created out of the former German archives and libraries what they are today. The changes are both physical and spiritual.<sup>25</sup> The changes began when the Nazi party came to power, and the notorious book-burnings were started. Not only did libraries of all classes lose books whose authors were condemned but they gained books whose authors were true to the party line. In addition, the Peoples Libraries were seized upon as media for the control and "enlightenment" of the general populace. In other words, the libraries suffered an internal degeneration. Then came the physical damages to buildings and collections, the losses or damages to collections as the result of uncontrolled activities of armies on both sides, the losses resulting from moisture and mold in year-long storage, the wear and tear from packing and drayage. Then came the

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 15-16. Much happier is the lot of the four German libraries (Hertziana, Archaeological Institute, Historical Institute in Rome; Art Historical Institute in Florence) established in Italy and returned to Italy by American military government in 1946. See *UNESCO Library Bulletin*, III (September, 1949), 324.

<sup>25</sup> A few illustrative references are given here. Heinz Schurer, *Public Libraries in Germany* (London, 1946), discusses, among other things, the effects of Nazi ideology upon libraries; H. Dähnhardt, "Richtlinien für das Volksbüchereiwesen," *Bücherei*, V (January, 1938), 1-7, and *ibid.*, V (March, 1938), 130-36; J. H. Wellard, "The Popular Library in Germany," *Library World*, XLIII (July, 1940), 3-5, which discusses the use made of libraries by the Nazis, the centralized control; "Das Einkaufshaus für Büchereien zu Leipzig im Geschäftsjahr 1939/40," *Bücherei*, VII (July-August, 1940), 223-24; L. S. Thompson, "Popular Libraries and Democracy in Postwar Europe," *Library Journal*, LXIX (July, 1944), 579, 582; *id.*, "New Problems for German Librarians," *Library Quarterly*, XI (January, 1941), 102-109; Flora B. Ludington, "Books and the Sword—Symbols of Our Time," *American Library Association Bulletin*, XXXVII (May, 1943), 147-52; Maria Loewe, "Nazi Technique," *Library Journal*, LXVIII (Apr. 1, 1943), 284; Rudolf Kummer, "Das wissenschaftliche Bibliothekswesen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland," *Zentralblatt*, LV (September-October, 1938), 399-413; Renata von Scheliha, "Research Libraries in Germany," *College and Research Libraries*, X (October, 1949), 379-80, 394. See also Kurt Pinthus, "Culture inside Nazi Germany," *American Scholar*, IX (October, 1940), 483-98. By contrast, one may cite the references to exhibitions in the usual manner, in spite of war needs; e.g., H. Striedl, "München: Staatsbibliothek," *Zentralblatt*, LVII (October, 1940), 489-90, and O. H. May, "Hannover," *ibid.*, LVIII (May-June, 1941), 222-23, which report exhibitions of incunabula in honor of the five-hundredth anniversary of printing; and H. Bockwitz, "Leipzig: Deutsches Buch und Schriftmuseum," *ibid.*, LVII (November-December, 1940), 555-57, who relates the removal of the museum to newer, larger quarters.

purification in the west, the purge in the east wherein the libraries were to clean out all objectionable material, segregate it in locked areas, and report it to the military governments.<sup>26</sup> To a lesser extent the archives had also to clean out militaristic and Nazi materials. Basically the scheme was simple, but in application it often was less than simple. What about the libraries of courts, in which were gazettes, laws, and similar items which were "Nazi" in the sense that they were published during the Nazi regime but which happened not to be the objectionable party legislation? What about continuous files of newspapers which constantly are a prime source of local history? In addition to the depletions, caused by the removal of Nazi literature, there were requisitions by military governments for long term upon libraries and archival collections of diverse nature.<sup>27</sup> There were confiscations, under the laws passed by the Allied Control Council and by the several military governments, of militaristic archives and libraries, of special libraries created for intelligence purposes by the Nazis.<sup>28</sup> There was restitution, both internal and external, of properties which had been acquired under the racial legislation or the purchase with currency of questionable value in occupied areas.<sup>29</sup> There were the passive losses due to inability to acquire foreign literature during the war years, there were losses due to the inability of German authors to write or to publish during the war years. There were losses due to opportunism.<sup>30</sup> There were losses due to inadvertence which, as they are discovered, are being rectified in the west.<sup>31</sup> There were losses in personnel through war service or party membership. There was a stalemate in postwar rehabilitation because of a general lack of food, money, materials. This, then, is the composite picture of the negative results of the war.

<sup>26</sup> Here again a few references may be useful. Joris Vorstius, "Dokumente über die Aussonderung der nationalsozialistischen und militärischen Literatur in den Bibliotheken," *Zentralblatt*, LXII (May-June, 1948), 128-32; Allied Control Authority, Order No. 4: "Confiscation of Literature and Materials of a Nazi and Militaristic Nature," dated May 20, 1946. In the west, the responsibility rested upon the German librarian; in the east, there was an *index librorum prohibitorum*.

<sup>27</sup> Examples to the point are legal materials requisitioned, and subsequently returned, by the Office of the Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, and the records of the German Foreign Office.

<sup>28</sup> There have not, however, been "reparations" affecting cultural materials in the west. This must be kept firmly in mind since there are in print articles (e.g., Douglas Rigby, "Cultural Reparations and a New Western Tradition," *American Scholar*, XIII [July, 1944], 273-84) which discuss, but reject, a view once suggested. On the use to which some German books have been put by the western Allies, see Kenneth Garside, "An Intelligence Library in Germany," *Journal of Documentation*, III (September, 1947), 99-106.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, L. I. Poste, "Books Go Home from the Wars," *Library Journal*, LXXIII (Dec. 1, 1948), 1699-704, which deals with the work of the Offenbach Archival Depot through which more than four million items passed between April, 1946, and its close in 1949.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., the removal of the famous Mainz Psalter, which was traced through American efforts and whose return to Germany has recently been noted in the newspapers; the archives of Gross Gerau, near Wiesbaden, which were tracked down and returned years ago.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., "Library of Congress Returns Confiscated Books to German Labor Union Libraries," *Library Journal*, LXXIII (Nov. 1, 1948), 1575-76. Materials from other libraries, such as those of the Weltkriegsbücherei and the German Patent Office, are either returned or on their way.



On the other hand, at least in the west, German archives and libraries have felt certain positive results from the war. Internally they have rid themselves of the Nazi degeneration. Externally they have had the opportunity to work with American, British, and French professional archivists and librarians in close relationship. Admittedly the Allied professional advisers were representatives of the victorious armies, but indisputably they reflected credit upon their professions, and they manifested the adherence of their countries to the letter and spirit of international obligations with regard to cultural properties.<sup>32</sup> The buildings and collections were respected. Inspections even in the most remote areas were surprises to the Germans, who learned thereby that the military government was vitally interested in the safekeeping of the German cultural heritage. Insofar as practicable, new ideas were made available, conferences were made possible, action was guided, urged, or applauded as the case required.<sup>33</sup> Material gifts have poured in.<sup>34</sup> Exchange visits and exhibitions have been authorized.<sup>35</sup> Self-respect through self-help has been

<sup>32</sup> The policy of the United States, at least, is best set forth in Section VI ("Cultural Matters") of the directive to the military governor which was released to the press on July 15, 1947. Paragraphs 22, 25, 27, which are especially pertinent, are quoted here:

"*Cultural Objectives.* Your government holds that re-education of the German people is an integral part of policies intended to help develop a democratic form of government and to restore a stable and peaceful economy; it believes that there should be no forcible break in the cultural unity of Germany, but recognizes the spiritual value of the regional traditions of Germany and wishes to foster them; it is convinced that the manner and purposes of the reconstruction of the national German culture have a vital significance for the future of Germany.

"It is therefore of the highest importance that you make every effort to secure maximum coordination between the occupying powers of cultural objectives designed to serve the cause of peace. You will encourage German initiative and responsible participation in this work of cultural reconstruction and you will expedite the establishment of these international cultural relations which will overcome the spiritual isolation imposed by National Socialism on Germany and further the assimilation of the German people into the world community of nations.

"*Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives.* a. You will respect, and permit German authorities to protect and preserve, the property of all cultural institutions dedicated to religion, charity, education, fine arts and sciences, historic monuments and historic archives, together with their collection and endowments. You will apply the same principle to all other property of cultural value, whether publicly or privately owned, except for institutions and monuments specifically devoted to the perpetuation of National Socialism or to the glorification of the German militaristic tradition. b. You are authorized to make such use of German records and archives as may be appropriate.

"*Reestablishment of International Cultural Relations.* In furtherance of the program of the reorientation of the German people and the revival of international cultural relations, you will permit and assist the travel into and out of Germany of persons useful for this program within the availability of your facilities. You will also permit and assist, to the extent of your facilities, the free flow of cultural materials to and from Germany."

<sup>33</sup> Many instances could be cited. I give only as an example the brief résumé of the remarks of the archives officer at the first meeting of German archivists of the U. S. zone held in Bamberg, April, 1947, as reported in *Der Archivar*, I (August, 1947), 11.

<sup>34</sup> Here, again, only a few examples need be cited: the gifts from the Germanistic Society in New York City; the collections of books from North Carolina; the CARE book program, which, in a recent release, reported gifts of nearly \$4,000; the gift of the Rockefeller Foundation which enabled the *Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* to get started. Perhaps here should also be mentioned the United States Book Exchange, which sends two-for-one, without transportation charges, to foreign libraries including those in Germany. An account of one activity is reported by Frederick Cromwell, "Westchester County Sends Books to U. S. German Zone," *Library Journal*, LXXIV (Jan. 1, 1949), 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> Of interest in this connection is a little booklet written by Alonzo G. Grace, director of

the keynote. Naturally, all has not been smooth. Frustrations as a result of dealing with two bureaucracies (German and Allied) at the same time must have been frequent and irksome even to the bureaucratic Germans. The impasse resulting from the failure of the Allies to agree among themselves certainly was no help to the Germans. And neither were they helped to rebuild their library collections by the view of JEIA (Joint Export-Import Agency), which did not distinguish between "exchange" outside trade channels and "trade." Nor were they helped by their own governments which provided so small a budget that the directors of libraries often could not take advantage of the dollar foreign exchange which had been allocated to their states by the western Allies. Nor have they been helped by their own selfish attitudes of non-co-operation, exemplified in the greatest degree by Bavaria. When the western Allies demanded legislation on land reform, the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives officers immediately requested reports concerning the possible effects upon cultural properties such as family archives, libraries, art collections, and historic castles and their furnishings. In the U.S. zone Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Bavaria submitted reports in that order. Fortunately, this legislation caused no problems in the west. What happened in the east has been well publicized in the newspapers.<sup>36</sup>

A great deal of rebuilding has been going on, especially in the two years since money reform. Reports are meager in detail, but it appears that to a very great extent rebuilding is just that—"re-building" without noticeable change from what had been there before.<sup>37</sup> There seems to be no discernible, consistent effort to profit by the opportunity to adapt old structures to modern services. There is much discussion, as may be seen from programs of meetings and résumés of committee sessions,<sup>38</sup> of ways and means to resolve the problems of acquiring foreign literature, of adapting scientific techniques to cultural purposes, of apportioning areas of specialization, of developing new specialties as the result of accidental loss or survival of collections in neighbor-

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the Division of Education and Cultural Relations in the Office of Military Government for Germany, entitled *Basic Elements of Educational Reconstruction in Germany*, and published by the Commission on the Occupied Areas of the American Council on Education in Washington, 1949.

<sup>36</sup> For an account of some cultural properties "displaced" as the result of land reform in the Soviet zone, see *Der Archivar*, II (August, 1949), 54.

<sup>37</sup> I am told, although I have not had opportunity to confirm the information, that a notable exception exists in Bremen.

<sup>38</sup> A few references, especially to earlier meetings, may be useful. Six meetings are reported in *Der Archivar*, I (August, 1947); others are reported in subsequent issues. Reports of the first library meetings in the American, British, and Russian zones are found in the *Zentralblatt*, LXI (no. 1-2, 1947), and others are reported in subsequent issues. Combined meetings of scholarly and people's librarians are reported for the Russian zone in *ibid.*, LXIII (March-April, 1949), 128-32; and for the British zone in *Nachrichten*, II (October, 1949), 149-51. Examples of meetings of people's librarians may be found in *Volksbibliothekar*, II (no. 1, 1948), 27-28; in *Freie Volksbildung*, III (no. 3, 1949), 134-35; and in *Bücherei und Bildung*, II (March, 1950), 360-65. Good examples of conferences are those reported in *Nachrichten*, II (June, 1949), 82-92.

ing institutions, but to date apparently little definitive action has been taken.<sup>39</sup> The Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (Council for Emergency Aid to German Scholarship) was re-established in 1948, and has, among other committees, one on library matters.<sup>40</sup> At the request of UNESCO, made in April, 1949, the Notgemeinschaft will serve as the clearinghouse for information or exchanges. A survey of German scholarly libraries has just been completed for the Notgemeinschaft.<sup>41</sup>

The debacle of Germany wrecked not only *Archive* and *Bibliotheken* but it also wrecked *Archivwesen* and *Bibliothekswesen*, as we have seen. Part of the road back has been covered in a progressive manner. The German archivists all have banded into one association, the Verein deutscher Archivare. They have founded and published an excellent new professional journal, *Der Archivar: Mitteilungsblatt für deutsches Archivwesen*, in which they report the postwar condition of German archives, the wartime measures of protection, the proceedings of the meetings of the association, the major papers presented at the meetings, papers on controversial issues, and general news and notes. Were it not for the presence on the agenda of items which could be there only as a result of the war, the meetings might be prewar in nature: time-honored subjects are still debated; nothing is said about "service" as a concept or a responsibility. On the other hand, interest was very considerable, and questions were many and good at the series of five lectures, in German, given by the visiting expert on archives<sup>42</sup> on two occasions in the summer of 1949 to a selected group of some fifty practicing archivists and the students at the school. The *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, the professional journal of international reputation which always has been edited by the Bavarian

<sup>39</sup> The problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation appear on the agenda of all meetings. Only a few references are cited here. The *Deutschland-Jahrbuch* points out that there has been no opportunity for centralized planning as there was after World War I, that zonal borders have not facilitated combined effort, that there has been no central government concerned with the problem, that (up to 1948) there was no professional association. See also, *Probleme des Wiederaufbaus im wissenschaftlichen Bibliothekswesen* (Hamburg, 1947); Kenneth Garside, "Postwar Problems of German Libraries," *Library Association Record*, XLIX (July, 1947), 169-74; Heinz Schurer, "German Public Libraries: Problems of Reconstruction," *Librarian and Book World*, XXXVI (November, 1947), 245-50; J. R. Webb, "Dortmund Public Library System Today," *Library World*, LI (November, 1948), 77-79. Each issue of the *Nachrichten*, the *Zentralblatt*, and *Der Archivar* contains either articles or notes which bear on the question. In 1948 the Education and Cultural Relations Division of American military government issued in mimeographed form a "List of Libraries Operating in Germany."

<sup>40</sup> For a history of its forbear, see Friederich Schmidt-Ott, "Bibliotheksausschuss der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft," *Zentralblatt*, LXII (May-June, 1948), 145-57. The present-day library committee consists of twelve members, four of whom are professors and eight of whom are library directors, all from the British and American zones.

<sup>41</sup> This has been done by Dr. Peter Scheibert for the Notgemeinschaft. The report, which is not yet published, is currently in two parts: a financial study and a general report.

<sup>42</sup> Dr. Ernst Posner, professor of history and archives administration, director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, American University. His report exists only in typewritten form (60 pp.).

State Archives, has not yet made its postwar appearance, although copy for a full number has been ready since 1939.

The librarians have not yet resolved their differences in methods and intermediate aims into a united effort toward common objectives and a common meeting ground. The Verein deutscher Bibliothekare met last year in Rothenburg o.T. on June 14-16, and the Verein der Volksbibliothekare met in Fulda on June 20-22. The excellent professional journal *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* resumed publication in 1947 at its historic location in Leipzig. Except for certain articles which reflect the point of view of a people's democracy, it is still the same solid journal. Several new periodicals have appeared in the west. The *Nachrichten für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken* appears monthly as the organ of the scholarly librarians. It contains articles on the postwar condition of libraries, notices of meetings, the potentialities of scientific developments (e.g., microfilm) for library use, library training, procurement of materials for the collection, international exchange, union cataloging, news and notes, etc. If not conclusive, at least the suggestions are along progressive lines. The *Mitteilungsblatt des Verbandes der Bibliotheken des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, published at Cologne, is one of the rare attempts to combine the interests of the two groups of librarians. The periodical *Bücherei und Bildung*, also new in the postwar period, is published by the librarians of the people's libraries.

Personnel is being recruited largely in the traditional manner from the universities, but there are interesting signs of a broadening outlook<sup>43</sup> in the schools which afford training for the professional careers of archivists and librarians. For example, in acknowledging the gift of a set of professional monographs and a set of the *American Archivist* from the National Archives and the Society of American Archivists, respectively, the director of the School of Archival Science at Marburg<sup>44</sup> expressed a realization of the need for close intellectual co-operation between the old and the new, that is, Europe

<sup>43</sup> A good example is found in the article of Joris Vorstius, one of the division chiefs in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, "Bibliothek, Bibliothekar, Bibliothekswissenschaft," *Zentralblatt*, LXIII (May-June, 1949), 172-85: "Die literarischen Bedürfnisse des Publikums in seinen vielfältigen Schichten kann nur der befriedigen, der sie kennt und sich auf sie einstellt. Und das gilt genau so gut für eine kleine Seminar- oder Volksbücherei wie für die grossen Landes- und Nationalbibliotheken. Die Öffentlichkeit für die Bibliothek zu interessieren ist eine der wichtigsten Pflichten der Bibliothekare, aber dieses Interesse kann nur geweckt werden, wenn die Bibliotheken selbst nicht abseits vom Leben verharren, sondern immer wieder zeigen, dass sie im Dienste der Gegenwart stehen" (p. 181). Most of the other arguments upon "librarianship" are largely traditional. See Heinrich Becher, "Objectivität des Bibliothekars," *Zentralblatt*, LXII (September-December, 1948), 261-65, which argues against the neutrality of librarians; Georg Leyh, "Das neue Berufsideal des Bibliothekars," *ibid.*, LXIII (March-April, 1949), 95-97, which is a reply to the above, and warns against tendencies to act as judges in all fields of knowledge; *id.*, "Der Bibliothekar der Zukunft," *ibid.*, LXIII (May-June, 1949), 151-71.

<sup>44</sup> This is Dr. Ludwig Dehio, director of the State Archives at Marburg, honorary professor of modern history at the University of Marburg, and editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

and America. Whereas the German library profession has retained its traditional separation into the Verein deutscher Bibliothekare and the Verein der Volksbibliothekare, and schools are largely organized along the lines of the prewar tradition,<sup>45</sup> at least one school, that at Cologne, affords basic training for both groups and specialized training for each.<sup>46</sup> This is an attack upon a fundamental issue which reaches beyond the library profession into the social structure of the German people. In the summer of 1948 the Department of the Army sent a visiting expert on public libraries to Germany.<sup>47</sup> Upon the basis of his survey and upon his recommendations one scholarly librarian and three people's librarians were sent to the United States for a period of four months each. The impact of American library philosophy upon receptive minds was made clear by that simple act. The effect is now being manifested in Germany. The unpublished report of one of these visitors has some observations which, coming from a German, hardly can fail to have influence in Germany.

The impression of American library life on a German . . . is in many respects overwhelming. . . . During my journey I have given special attention to library plans and the . . . architectural innovations such as solid floors. In no case should one undertake new library buildings in Germany without having studied the latest American library buildings. . . . One is less astonished to learn that the Library of Congress has more than ten million volumes than to see how practically and unobtrusively these masses are housed and with what precision they are moved, thus turning the library into a gigantic, vibrating, knowledge-pumping machine. . . . Through its printing of cards the Library of Congress has, at the same time, introduced its system of classification into nearly all scholarly libraries that I visited. . . . This fact makes most evident the difference between the American and the Ger-

<sup>45</sup> A few references may be useful, Eugen Paunel, "Die Ausbildung für den gehobenen Dienst an der Öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek in Berlin seit 1945," *Zentralblatt*, LXI (no. 3-4, 1947), 128-32; Carl Mones, "Ausbildungs- und Prüfungsordnungen für den wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheksdienst und für den gehobenen Dienst an wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone," *ibid.*, LXI (no. 3-4, 1947), 132-49. Both of these articles have been analyzed in detail in my review in the *American Archivist*, XI (October, 1948). Joris Vorstius, "Die Ausbildung der Anwärter des höheren Dienstes an der Öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek in Berlin," *Zentralblatt*, LXIII (March-April, 1949), 79-83; Gerhard Alexander, "Aus der Hamburger Bibliotheksschule," *ibid.*, LXIII (March-April, 1949), 83-94; E. Landsberg, "Die Arbeit der westdeutschen Büchereischule," *Volksbibliothekar*, II (no. 1, 1948), 32-33; E. Adler, "Die deutsche Volksbüchereischule in Leipzig," *ibid.*, II (no. 1, 1948), 31-32; "Eine Fachschule für Volksbibliothekare in Rostock," *Freie Volksbildung*, II (no. 5, 1948), 326. Additional references can be found in such sources as *Bücherei und Bildung*, *Nachrichten*, and *Mitteilungsblatt des Verbandes der Bibliotheken des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*. The curriculum for the Bavarian school of archives at Munich has appeared only in mimeographed form: *Lehrplan der bayerischen Archivschule* (2 pp.), as has that of the west German school at Marburg: *Satzungen der marburger Archivschule* (6 pp.). Information about training for the intermediate service in archives may be found in the brief notice in *Der Archivar*, III (January, 1950), 42-43. For general background material, see Ernst Posner, "European Experience in Training Archivists," *American Archivist*, IV (January, 1941), 26-37.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g. *Nachrichten*, II (March, 1949), 45-46.

<sup>47</sup> Harlan A. Carpenter, Director of Libraries, Wilmington, Delaware. His report exists only in mimeographed form (33 pp.). Mr. Carpenter has just completed a second tour of duty in Germany this summer.



man libraries: the American submits to the work done for him in Washington because his first and natural reaction is to take his share in cooperation. It would be difficult to get the German as far as that; his natural reaction is to do something of his own and something different. . . . Having lost the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek we have lost our representative "National Library" and all coherence in our library work. . . . It would be of great value if we had a strong common association. We have always had two of them (this reflects the German educational levels!). All attempts to bring about better relations failed, especially since the public libraries . . . insisted on delineating . . . their special character. . . . If, on the other hand, the scholarly libraries would give up their somewhat stiff and inaccessible learnedness and would more liberally devote themselves to the interests of their readers (especially the students), then the sharp contrast between these two library types could almost be smoothed out. Apart from the fact that a more liberal way of working [on the part] of our libraries would be more becoming to us nowadays, cooperation would certainly be to the advantage of both types. They will have to go this way if they do not want to lose too much ground in the reorganization of our cultural life. . . . Of this they do not have too much. A German visiting America need not be a librarian to be amazed at the part which the library plays in American life. In our country, though it has so many and such good readers, it is far from enjoying so much reputation and influence.<sup>48</sup>

The most significant factor connected with this quotation is that it comes from a German source. In a recent article which appears to be based upon current knowledge of the situation in Germany,<sup>49</sup> one reads of the amazing activity which the German libraries have displayed in building up their collections and in bringing their catalogs up to date. But the author goes on to say:

It seems that the German librarians are courageously and energetically trying to reorganize the libraries and library work after the model of the prewar libraries. . . . Just as before the war they are concerned with the preservation of books and with making research material available to students and scholars, while the educational task of the library is all but forgotten. . . . In the postwar publications of German librarians these problems [infiltration of Nazi ideas into apparently non-political sources] have not been touched any more than other educational and political problems. This apparent oversight has its source in the tradition of German librarianship and the training of librarians. The fields covered in the United States by the duties of the "reader's adviser" are almost unknown in Germany. Book selection and annotation, display of instructive and valuable books, and personal advice to readers are not to be found in the research libraries. This is all the more unfortunate since, in Germany, research libraries also fulfill the functions of public libraries. . . . The reorganization of the libraries, so well performed in many respects, has not balanced this lack in German librarianship—a lack which may perhaps prove more disastrous for German culture than the loss of books.

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Hanns W. Eppelsheimer, director general of the Municipal and University Libraries, Frankfurt a.M. He has kindly allowed me to quote extensively from his typewritten translation (8 pp.), dated September 22, 1949.

<sup>49</sup> Renata von Scheliha, "Research Libraries in Germany," *College and Research Libraries*, X (October, 1949), 379-380, 394.



A recent observer,<sup>50</sup> whose primary concern was not with libraries as such, has reaffirmed from his independent study what some German and foreign observers already had argued: namely, that a change in the German library system is inextricably connected with a change in the social structure of Germany. He finds deep-seated nationalism in the composition of seminar libraries, and self-interest rather than co-operation as the basic relation between seminar library and central library in the university system. He notes the absence of a central library for western Germany and observes in despair the unrelated efforts, many of which are in themselves very helpful, to rebuild the German library system. He says that "there is lacking a center, a plan, even the basis of a plan." Like most thinking persons he realizes that the ways of one nation cannot be introduced rigidly into another, but he urges certain changes based upon German reform initiated by Germans who have been enabled to see for themselves the progress made in other countries during the years that Germany suffered her self-imposed intellectual isolation. Specifically, he recommends combined library schools, buildings of a new type, and extensive use of microphotography in the solution of German library problems.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Eugene N. Anderson, professor of history, University of Nebraska, who made a survey of conditions in Germany for the American military government and for the American Council of Learned Societies. The A.C.L.S. has generously allowed me to use this report, which is under consideration for publication, in its typewritten form: "The Humanities in the German and Austrian Universities" (122 pp.), September, 1949. Pages 57-67, inclusive, are devoted to German libraries. Dr. Anderson, native-born American who received a part of his graduate training in Germany between the wars, Dr. Eppelsheimer, native-born German who received all his training and has lived all his 70 years in Germany, and Dr. von Scheliha share a number of views in common. Dr. Anderson is perhaps a trifle more optimistic than are the others in his hope for the future. I quote his most optimistic passage, which it would be incorrect to say is not qualified by many detailed observations.

"The most striking fact about the German libraries arises out of the contrast between the open-mindedness and progressive ideas of directors and the antiquated condition of the system. The directors are keenly interested in the development in library science and organization abroad in the past fifteen or twenty years and are seeking to re-establish contacts with their foreign colleagues. They favor the addition of reading rooms with publications in open shelves; they wish to introduce facilities for making publications in the stacks quickly available to the readers; they regard the library as a service center, not a mausoleum. In the case of directors of state libraries, they would like to make their libraries into centers of adult education. They recognize that the old type of librarian scholar who read several ancient languages and knew the books by sight but who had no conception of administration can no longer be used. They are seeking good administrators for bringing books into circulation. All in all, as in the case with many Dozenten, one discovers that in spite of isolation the German librarians have been trying to respond to similar needs in the same way as their American colleagues."

With these observations made in 1949 it is interesting to compare the remarks of Dr. Wilhelm Hoffmann, director of the State Library in Stuttgart, written just three years earlier. "It is not so much a question of scholarship and antiquarian research, which is involved in the future of our libraries. They must rather offer to the man of today exactly what he seeks. Orientation in the present and past, in his own world and in foreign civilizations, in politics, and philosophy, in the supreme laws of life—these things will be demanded more than ever." *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXXII (October, 1946), 403.

<sup>51</sup> The Germans have given wide consideration to this problem, although they appear not to have arrived at their answer. See, for example, Wilhelm Hinsch, "Grundlagen und Möglichkeiten des Mikrobuches," *Zentralblatt*, LXII (September-December, 1948), 278-91; Hans

At the risk of seeming to create an anthology of recent statements on the library situation in Germany, I should like to add one more, the closing paragraphs of the report presented by the president of the Society of German Librarians to the Committee of the International Federation of Library Associations last summer.

A problem of particular importance, that the German libraries, heavily damaged during the 2nd world war, have to face is the urgent obligation to catch up with the technical progresses developed abroad during the period. For this very reason, our damages, most deplorable as a fact, may turn out as a promising chance for freer future developments. They are forcing our library staffs, too hidebound as a rule, to initiate new intellectual and technical methods. From a spiritual point of view too I am satisfied that full agreement is prevailing in the opinions of our librarians, that we need matter of fact men and not librarians having professional or political ideologies. Neither have we use for fugitives from life, who seek refuge in the peaceful realm of books. Today we have to deal with masons and Secretaries of State as well as with Aristoteles and Dewey. On the other hand we must not smother, what has been left living of our institutions, by overzealous organizationists, so obtrusive in any emergency.

But what we need above all in this process of regeneration is the possibility of widening our scope for general as well as professional problems, in full harmony with the traditions of librarianship. This aim can be attained only with the help of the foreign countries. On this occasion I want to emphasize that the German libraries on the whole are deeply obliged to the library officers of the American, British and French Military Governments for their generous support. Only with the understanding assistance of the foreign countries can we be enabled to solve the fundamental problem we have to face, that is to say to combine the multitude of new suggestions with the existing organism so that the result may prove an harmonious development for the better.<sup>52</sup>

The archivists and the librarians have one more basic problem in common, the collection and control of their materials. For the librarians this means

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Lübeck, "Grundsätzliche Fragen des Mikrobuches," *ibid.*, LXIII (January-February, 1949), 17-29; A. J. Walford, "German Use of Documentary Aids and Processes," *Library Association Record*, L (December, 1948), 337-38; and Erich Zimmermann, "Amerikanische Unternehmungen auf dem Gebiet des Mikrofilms," *Nachrichten*, II (May, 1949), 65-70, which is a good summary of activities and ideas which, on the last pages, are related to German problems; *id.*, "Die bibliothekarische Behandlung von Mikrofilmen," *Zentralblatt*, LXIV (March-April, 1950), 91-100; *id.*, "Eine neue Zentralstelle für photographische Reproduktionstechnik im Bibliothekswesen," *Nachrichten*, III (April, 1950), 52-54; Wilhelm Redepenning, "Über Probleme der Lesefilm-Technik," *Zentralblatt*, LXI (March-April, 1947), 121-28; K. H. Söcken, "Deutscher Dokumentations-Dienst G.m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main," *Nachrichten*, III (January-February, 1950), 19-22. Perhaps this is the place in which to mention the revival of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Dokumentation whose first meeting in December, 1948, has been reported widely; e.g., *Börsenblatt*, CXVI (January 8, 1949), 9-10; *Nachrichten*, II (February, 1949), 17-19; *Review of Documentation*, XVI (no. 4, 1949), 102-105; *Der Archivar*, II (January, 1949), 32-33. Prominent on the agenda was a discussion of the use of photocopying techniques, especially microfilm, in the postwar plans of archives and libraries. The meeting of the Society of German Archivists in September of this year will have devoted a special session to the topic of microfilming.

<sup>52</sup> Gustav Hofmann, "German Librarianship and the Association of German Librarians (Western Zones of Germany): Report for the Year 1949" in *Actes du Comité International des Bibliothèques*, 15<sup>me</sup> session, Bâle, 11-13 juillet 1949 (The Hague, 1949), pp. 65-69.

largely the making of new catalogs, of union catalogs, and the exchange of information, a task to which no little effort has been devoted, and from which some positive results already have been achieved.<sup>53</sup> Only to a minor extent are libraries which are without properties evacuated to the Soviet zone or to "New Poland" concerned with the return of their collections. The archives, on the other hand, are faced with a very different situation, and the archivists already have developed a considerable body of literature on the subject. As might be expected as the corollary to recent political events, the quantity of factual and argumentative material has increased each year, and the circumspection of language has decreased proportionately.<sup>54</sup>

This is not the place in which to argue the complexities of the general problems which will attract the attention of historians, political scientists, international lawyers, and archivists for some time, but only to point out that the problem is divided into three parts, and to supply the bibliographic clues to each. The first phase relates to those records which originated in areas now outside occupied Germany, and stems, at least in print, from the remarks of the British archives officer in *Der Archivar* on the subject of records turned over to Polish administration.<sup>55</sup> The next phase relates to current or

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, C. Lagemann, "Brief Report on the Deutscher Gesamtkatalog and the Auskunftsbüro der deutschen Bibliotheken in Recent Years," *Library Journal*, LXXII (Feb. 15, 1947), 291-92; L. S. Thompson, "Reports from Abroad: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Deutscher Gesamtkatalog, Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke," *American-German Review*, XIII (June-August, 1947), 26-27; Joris Vorstius, "Ergebnisse und Fortschritte der Bibliographie in Deutschland seit dem ersten Weltkrieg," *Zentralblatt*, Beiheft LXXIV, (1948, v, 172 pp.), which, for the years 1939-47, is analyzed by Heinz Schurer, "Bibliography in Germany, 1939-47," *Journal of Documentation*, V (September, 1949), 98-112; Joris Vorstius, "Libraries and Bibliography in Germany," *Library Association Record*, L (March, 1948), 69-70; Heinrich Uhlendahl, "Wiederaufnahme der bibliographischen Arbeiten der deutschen Bücherei," *Börsenblatt*, CXV (January 31, 1948), 38-40; Hanns W. Eppelsheimer, ed., *Bibliographie der deutschen Bibliothek, Frankfurt am Main*; Walter Süßmann, "Gesamtkatalogisierung und Zweijahresplan," *Zentralblatt*, LXIII (May-June, 1949), 185-88; Heinrich Uhlendahl, "Die 'Deutsche Nationalbibliographie' nach dem Kriege," *ibid.*, LXIII (July-August, 1949), 269-78; Rudolf Juckhoff, "Der Zentralkatalog der wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen," *ibid.*, LXIII (January-February, 1949), 42-47, which describes the union catalog at Cologne which has entries from fifteen libraries, and which anticipates a total of 800,000 entries when it is completed; a briefer notice on the same is in *Nachrichten*, II (January, 1949), 1-3, and in *Review of Documentation*, XVII (no. 3, 1950), 54-55. See also Walter Bahuis, "Die Stuttgarter Titeldrucke," *Zentralblatt*, LXIII (March-April, 1949), 97-109, which describes the printed accession lists, developed in 1946, at the Landesbibliothek which are used by other institutions, and also the new publication, *Der Hinweis*, a monthly list of accessions, published by the "Öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, and Fritz Juntke, "Der Zentralkatalog des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt," *Zentralblatt*, LXIV (March-April, 1950), 81-87.

<sup>54</sup> For example: "Archiv der Grafen Reventlow, Altenhof wurde 1946 ohne Wissen des Landesarchiv mit Unterstützung der Besatzungsmacht als Leihgabe für längere Zeit ins Reichsarchiv Kopenhagen gebracht," *Der Archivar*, I (August, 1948), 169; and "Aus den angestellten Überlegungen folgt, dass Deutschland in bezug auf die weggeführten Behördenakten keineswegs rechtlos ist. Ob die Verwirklichung seiner Ansprüche dabei unter Bezugnahme auf den zuletzt ausgedrückten Gedanken oder nach den weiter oben entwickelten Gesichtspunkten durchzuführen ist, ist nur eine Frage von mehr untergeordneter Bedeutung: Welcher Begründung auch immer man folgen mag, das deutsche Rückgaberecht steht ausser Frage," *ibid.*, III (January, 1950), 32-33.

<sup>55</sup> The essential references here are C.A.F. Meekings, "Rückgabe von Archiven an Polen,"

modern records. This has been approached through the question, "Who is to write the history of contemporary Germany?"<sup>56</sup> and goes on to show that Washington and London are now the centers at which the most important sources of modern German history are to be found. The transition between the second and third phase is well illustrated by the four resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Verband der Historiker Deutschlands in Munich, September 12-15, 1949:<sup>57</sup> (a) it would be desirable to have all German archives back in Germany at the earliest possible date, (b) it would be desirable to have German historians participate in the publication of German official documents, (c) it is essential to have free exchange between east and west Germany, and (d) there is need for intense research in "current" history. The last phase has the same purpose as the second, namely, to get German records back in German hands, but it approaches the case through legal argument.<sup>58</sup>

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*Der Archivar*, I (January, 1948), 71-74; *id.*, "Liste der Archivbestände, die sich im Zonenarchivdepot in Goslar befinden," *ibid.*, I (January, 1948), 73-76; Ahasver von Brandt, "Schicksalsfragen deutscher Archive," *ibid.*, I (May, 1948) 133-40; "Die Wahrung des Provenienzprinzips beim Friedensvertrag," *ibid.*, II (August, 1949), 48, which is part of the digest of proceedings of the meeting of the Verein deutscher Archivare in Wiesbaden, May 31, 1949; Erich Weise, "Die Erhaltung des Deutschordenarchivs und der übrigen geretteten Königsberger Bestände," *ibid.*, II (August, 1949), 49-54; Herbert Kraus und Erich Weise, *Zwei Gutachten über die Archive des deutschen Ordens sowie des altpreuussischen Herzogtums* (Göttingen, 1949, 32 pp.), in which Dr. Kraus, ordinarius for international law at Göttingen, argues the legal side, and Dr. Weise, Oberarchivrat a.D., presents the historical and archival case; Karl Meyer, "Das zonale Archivlager in Goslar," *Der Archivar*, III (January, 1950), 37-40, which is a factual presentation of materials now being made available. I have discussed some of the earlier papers in my reviews of *Der Archivar* in the *American Archivist*, XI (July, 1948); XII (April, 1949).

<sup>56</sup> For example, "Wer schreibt die deutsche Geschichte?" *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, Mar. 9, 1949, p. 2; Rudolf Holzhausen, "Die Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte des 'Dritten Reiches' von 1938 bis 1945," *Europa-Archiv*, IV (Nov. 5, 1949), 2585-90, which assembles a good bit of data on the fate of records from the former highest agencies in Germany; Wolfgang Mommsen, "Deutsche Archivalien im Ausland," *Der Archivar*, III (January, 1950), 33-38 adds complementary data. Mommsen, in his paper, "Die Akten der Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozesse und die Möglichkeit ihrer historischen Auswertung," *ibid.*, III (January, 1950), 14-25, states that most of the original documents connected with these cases are in the hands of the occupation powers, but that "there are abroad persons who want to return these to us and who are of the opinion that we will get them back" (p. 25). The extent of concern with this phase of the problem is evidenced in numerous ways; e.g., the editorial note prefixed to Mommsen's first paper above, and such notices as "Deutsche Archivalien in Nationalarchiv Washington," *Der Archivar*, II (January, 1949), 23; "Deutsche Archivalien in Antiquariaten Amerikas," *ibid.*, II (August, 1949), 73-74, which is taken from *American-German Review*, XV (February, 1949), 29. See also Richard A. Humphrey, "War-born Microfilm Holdings of the Department of State," *Journal of Modern History*, XX (June, 1948), 133-36.

<sup>57</sup> These are conveniently found in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXIX (December, 1949), 669, and in *Der Archivar*, III (January, 1950), 40-41.

<sup>58</sup> H. M. Maschke, "Die deutschen Akten und das Kriegsrecht," *Der Archivar*, III (January, 1950), 27-34, who is convinced that the rules of land warfare attached to the Hague Convention of 1907 are all on the German side of this question. Such an attitude will not win favor in the west where considerable concern for the rights granted under the international conventions has always been manifested. The Germans have also been interested in foreign views on the general problem; e.g., in *Der Archivar*, II (August, 1949), 78, there is a brief digest of two papers by Ernst Posner, "Public Records under Military Occupation," *American Historical Review*, XLIX (January, 1944), 213-27, and "Effects of Changes of Sovereignty on Archives," *American*

The stake is both historical and contemporary records. This, like many a cultural problem before it, very probably will make itself evident at the peace table.

*Library of Congress*

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*Archivist*, V (July, 1942), 141-55. In this digest, as elsewhere, it is suggested that the whole question be studied by the International Council on Archives.

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## Frederick Law Olmsted and the Western Texas Free-Soil Movement

LAURA WOOD ROPER

FREDERICK Law Olmsted's enthusiasm for Texas is known to everyone who has read *Journey through Texas*, the second of his three classics on the pre-Civil War South. His sending a howitzer to Lawrence, Kansas, too, to help the Emigrant Aid Society settlers there is well known;<sup>1</sup> and, thanks to Dr. Percy Bidwell's discovery and publication of letters from Olmsted to Dr. Samuel Cabot, jr., and to the Cotton Supply Associations of Manchester and Liverpool, it is known also that he tried to encourage the immigration of English labor to the American Southwest to raise cotton.<sup>2</sup> The overlooked fact that gives coherence to these others is this: Olmsted was vigorously promoting a movement to secure Western Texas to free-soil interests.

The terms of the Joint Agreement of Annexation contemplated that Texas, when the increase of its population justified it, should divide into five states. Western Texas, an ill-defined region between the Rio Grande and the Colorado or the Guadalupe, was one candidate for statehood. Given the peculiar make-up of its population, the possibility existed that it might come in as a free state by the choice of its inhabitants: by 1854 only one quarter of its estimated fifty thousand white American settlers were slaveowners although four fifths of them originated in slaveholding states; its twenty-five thousand Mexicans were unequivocally hostile to slavery; and its eleven thousand German colonists were generally opposed to it, although they were opposed equally to incurring the risk of making a decided move against it.<sup>3</sup> A minority of openly antislavery Germans existed, too, most of them political refugees who had come to Texas after the events of 1848.

A small group of these Germans were the organizers of the free-soil movement in which Olmsted was active. Some hundred and twenty of them held a convention May 17, 1854, at San Antonio and adopted a platform—a statement of principles rather than a program of action—one resolution of which held that slavery, while an evil incompatible with democratic govern-

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted to [J. B. Abbott], Sept. 17, Oct. 4, Oct. 7, 1855, Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, I-II (Topeka, 1881), 223 f.

<sup>2</sup> *American Historical Review*, XXIII (October, 1917), 114-19.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Adolf Douai to Dr. John Hull Olmsted, Sept. 4, 1854, Olmsted Papers, Library of Congress. (Unless otherwise indicated, the following citations are from this collection.)



ment, was a state affair with which the federal government should not interfere, but that, if a state decided to divest itself of this evil, it might call on the federal government for aid in accomplishing its purpose.

When Dr. Adolf Douai, editor of the San Antonio *Zeitung*, published the platform, sharp division among the Germans soon became evident: the first attacks on him were from German sources. Then American indignation burst out in denunciatory articles and threats of lynching.<sup>4</sup> The stockholders of the *Zeitung*, split into two factions by the editor's policy, decided to sell the paper and let it depend thenceforth on public patronage. Since it was, in its modest way, both a valuable and an influential property, Douai determined to buy it himself and to add an English-language section to get his free-soil views before such of the American population as might be susceptible. He had formed a cordial friendship with Olmsted and his brother, Dr. John Hull Olmsted, during their Texas trip the previous winter; so in September, 1854, he asked them for a loan of \$350 to enable him to swing the purchase.<sup>5</sup>

Although the brothers could spare no cash themselves, the opportunity of supporting on-the-spot propaganda for a new free-soil state was too good to neglect. Using the letter of Douai in which he set forth the situation and his opportunity as the basis of a circular, they appealed to such friends of their own and of freedom's as Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Loring Brace, H. H. Elliott, and the merchants Bowen and McNamee. By October 31 they had raised most of the money, and by November 17 Douai had received and acknowledged it.<sup>6</sup>

Aid to the *Zeitung* did not stop there. Acting as Douai's purchasing agent in New York, Olmsted bought the type the editor specified from Wells and Webb, who, probably at his instance, allowed generous credit terms; purchased newsprint for the paper; got subscriptions from Theodore Parker, Brace, and other friends; arranged for Douai to receive a weekly news letter from New York; and promised to send a semimonthly one himself.<sup>7</sup>

While aid to the *Zeitung* was important, the main necessity was to persuade immigrants of a free-soil disposition to settle in Western Texas, at the same time keeping the slavery issue in the background so as to avoid enticing Border Ruffians along with legitimate settlers. Charles N. Riotte, a refugee lawyer then living in San Antonio, urged Olmsted to place articles emphasizing the advantages of the region—and avoiding the slavery problem—

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> [F. L. O., September or October, 1854]; J. H. Olmsted to John Olmsted, Oct. 31, 1854; Douai to "dear Friend," Nov. 17, 1854.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*; Douai to "Dear Friends," Dec. 16, 1854; Douai to "Dear Friend" [F. L. O.], Dec. 6, 1854.

in important New York journals from which they would be reprinted in newspapers in Germany.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, on January 19, 1855, the *New York Times* ran an editorial, "Emigrants and Texas," describing the attractions of Texas as a field for settlement and reporting on the "rapturous" accounts which travelers brought back of it. "The articles on Texas in the *Times* last week," Olmsted wrote his father, "were built of my timber."<sup>9</sup> A few days before,<sup>10</sup> the paper had given prominent place to his review of Friedrich Kapp's book on slavery in the United States;<sup>11</sup> and on the twenty-first the *Tribune* devoted three columns to a report of Kapp's lecture, "The History of Texas," in which he spoke of the German colonists and urged settlement by free-soilers. Kapp, a political refugee who practiced law in New York, had an uncle living at the Latin colony of Sisterdale, near San Antonio, where the Olmsteds had spent considerable time, and was a warm friend of the brothers;<sup>12</sup> therefore it seems probable that the *Tribune* item, also, was part of Olmsted's campaign to encourage immigration.

Olmsted, too, met and talked with men interested in the free-soil movement. Senator Seward invited him to call; he arranged to see Victor Considerant, who was then on his way to found a Fourierist colony in Texas; and he got in touch with Emigrant Aid Society friends with whom he seems to have discussed the possibility of establishing a railroad from Kansas to Texas, of sending an agent to take up lands suitable for settlement along the Western Texas rivers, and of maintaining an agent on the coast to direct newly arrived immigrants. Douai, kept abreast of his activities, constantly urged the need to soft-pedal the free-soil angle of the immigration they were seeking to stimulate.<sup>13</sup>

But the problem of developing a concerted movement and at the same time maintaining secrecy as to its motive was insoluble. The suspicions of the proslavery and Know-Nothing elements were too feverish to be quieted. By the end of 1854, all the Germans, regardless of shades of political opinion among them, were being assailed as abolitionists, and even the Olmsteds were viewed retrospectively as agents of an abolitionist conspiracy.<sup>14</sup> Threats and violence against antislavery men were becoming commonplace.<sup>15</sup> Douai, for instance, was so repeatedly menaced that he provided for a friend to pay

<sup>8</sup> Charles N. Riotte to [no addressee], Oct. 14, 1854.

<sup>9</sup> F. L. O. to John Olmsted, Jan. 22, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1855.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Sklavenfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten* (New York, 1854).

<sup>12</sup> J. H. Olmsted to John Olmsted, Jan. 22, 1855.

<sup>13</sup> F. L. O. to John Olmsted, Nov. 7, 1854; same, Feb. [?], 1855; Douai to F. L. O., Oct. 28, 1854; Douai to "Dear Friend," Nov. 17, 1854; Douai to "Dear Friends," Dec. 16, 1854.

<sup>14</sup> Edward Degener to "My dear sir" [J. H. O.], Nov. 2, 1854.

<sup>15</sup> Riotte to [no addressee], Oct. 14, 1854.

his debt to the Olmsteds if he should be lynched. Finally, unable to disarm suspicion, he decided to confront it: in the issue of the *Zeitung* for February 9, 1855, he for the first time plainly declared that Western Texas must be free.<sup>16</sup>

The reaction was concerted and sustained, and showed how he had misjudged both his backing and his opposition. The large San Antonio merchants withdrew their ads; subscriptions fell off rapidly; his former partner in the lithographing business spread damaging falsehoods about him; his credit was almost ruined; and all but a few of his friends forsook him. The collapse of his support was so complete that after six months he wrote Olmsted that he could see nothing for it but to sell the paper and leave Texas.<sup>17</sup>

"I want to encourage him to stay & maintain the position he has gained & if he will, he must be sustained," Olmsted wrote Edward Everett Hale when he received Douai's account of his troubles.<sup>18</sup> Olmsted, who was just then engaged in raising money for arms for Kansas, resolved "to try to tax the peace people, those whose consciences will not let them contribute for arms." Presumably he had some success, for Douai hung on a while longer, but his situation was becoming impossible. Indeed, the position of all the Germans, exposed to Know-Nothing and proslavery attacks, was unenviable, and some of them were so disheartened that, under the leadership of Riotte, they planned a mass migration to Mexico.<sup>19</sup>

Olmsted did what he could to uphold them: he wrote Hale asking if he could make anything for publication out of Riotte's letters,<sup>20</sup> but nothing seems to have come of that idea. Probably at his instigation, the *Times* ran a leading editorial deploring the proposed German exodus to Mexico.<sup>21</sup> But he could do nothing more to maintain the editor of the *Zeitung*: without local support the paper could not exist, no matter what the good will it had in New York and New England. By May, 1856, Douai sold it—to the opposition, bitterly enough—for enough to pay its debts and get him and his large family to New York.<sup>22</sup> With the *Zeitung* in the hands of the enemy and its editor driven from the state, this attempt to propagandize Western Texans, German or American, for a free-soil state failed.

Olmsted concentrated, then, on immigration. His *Journey through Texas*, which came out early in 1857, was well reviewed in the North and he seized

<sup>16</sup> Douai to "Dear Friend," Nov. 17, 1854; Douai to "Dear Friends," Feb. 9, 1855.

<sup>17</sup> Douai to "My Dear Friends!" Aug. 4, 1855.

<sup>18</sup> F. L. O. to E. E. Hale, Aug. 23, 1855, New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

<sup>19</sup> Riotte to F. L. O., Aug. 19, 1855.

<sup>20</sup> F. L. O. to E. E. Hale, Jan. 17, 1856, New Eng. Emigrant Aid Co. Papers.

<sup>21</sup> New York *Times*, Jan. 31, 1856.

<sup>22</sup> J. H. Olmsted to F. L. O., May 4, 1856.

upon it as a new tool. In it he had said nothing directly about immigration to Texas but much to induce interest in it; so when he heard a report that the more zealous, fighting free-soilers in Kansas were saying that they ought to "take Western Texas next," he offered Hale a hundred copies at cost to be got into the hands of Kansans—"my purpose being to encourage attention to Texas among the right sort of men and to diffuse information about the country." He sent copies, too, to Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Theodore Parker, J. G. Whittier, and Edmund Quincy, and entrusted several to Hale to give to influential men whom he did not know personally.<sup>23</sup>

Early in February Olmsted sent Hale 239 sets of certain pages of *Texas* to be pasted together as pamphlets and distributed to free-soil editors in New England with the suggestion that they print excerpts occasionally as a matter of timely public interest.<sup>24</sup> Again, secrecy was the policy: the pamphlets were to come ostensibly from respectable Republicans; for the Emigrant Aid Society to send them out would at once expose the object and invite Border Ruffianism. "What I want now is to influence a few hundred New Englanders to go thither voluntarily, convinced that their reports would soon draw all necessary additional immigration," Olmsted wrote Hale. Nor did he neglect the possibility of further German immigration: *Texas* was translated, came out in German early the next year, and, according to the *Times*, received good notices.<sup>25</sup>

Besides influencing Kansans and New Englanders to go to Texas, Olmsted thought he saw an opportunity to induce English emigration thither. The problem of maintaining and increasing the supply of cotton to the English mills had become acute enough to alarm English manufacturers and statesmen, who were beginning to investigate the possibility of sources other than the United States, which seemed to have reached the limit of its productivity.<sup>26</sup> It was Olmsted's belief that the limit had been reached only under the prevailing system of slave labor but could be greatly extended under a free labor system; his proposal, therefore, was the introduction of free labor.

His first suggestion, made to Lord Goderich, M.P. for West Riding, that English emigrants be directed to the Southwest, received a discouraging reception. Goderich wrote that he could not encourage English emigration to Texas for a number of reasons: colonists would have to encounter peculiar risks, notably Border Ruffianism; whereas Olmsted wanted colonists with capital, the only English desirous of emigrating were urban workers without

<sup>23</sup> F. L. O. to E. E. Hale, Jan. 10, 23, 1857, New Eng. Emigrant Aid Co. Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Same, Feb. 4, Jan. 30, 1857, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> New York *Times*, Apr. 20, 1858.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1857.

enough even to pay their passage—and without any knowledge of agriculture; some fervent abolitionists might be had but only by publicity, which was undesirable not only from Olmsted's point of view but because it would create the impression that Great Britain was interfering with America's national affairs.<sup>27</sup>

Olmsted must have inspired, also, the New York *Times* editorial for June 4, 1857, which, following his line, emphasized the cotton supply aspect of the proposed migration and played down the antislavery intent behind it. Mentioning that *Texas* had established the fact that free labor could and did grow cotton successfully, contrary to the widely held contention, the editorial said that the question of cotton supply currently troubling England "is one of world-wide importance. . . . It is a question of commerce. . . . the question of Slavery and the African slave trade is simply incidental to it. . . . How, and where, is the cotton which Commerce calls for to be obtained—the United States, under the present circumstances of the South, being unable to increase its supply with anything like the rapidity warranted by the demand?" The next month, in an editorial based on *Texas*, the *Times* reiterated that slaveowners could not afford to cultivate as much land as they owned because of the high cost of slaves, so that land lay idle which might otherwise have been in cotton.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, cotton supply associations had been formed in Manchester and Liverpool,<sup>29</sup> and Olmsted addressed a long letter to them, the point of which was that the supply of cotton from the United States was limited only by the labor supply and could be increased tenfold by a large free immigration to the Southwest.<sup>30</sup> He sent them copies of *Texas*, and offered to go himself to England to consult with them, or to conduct one of their agents through the available regions to inspect and select lands for settlement and cotton cultivation. In the same mail he again wrote to Goderich, and to Delane of the London *Times*, and to other acquaintances, urging the political and moral implications of the proposed emigration scheme which he had purposely avoided in his letters to the associations, and asking their help in securing consideration for his proposals.<sup>31</sup>

About the same time, the executive committee of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, spurred by a visit from Olmsted, discussed with Seth Padelford, one of its officers who was about to go to England, Olmsted's

<sup>27</sup> Lord Goderich to F. L. O., May 5, 1857.

<sup>28</sup> New York *Times*, July 13, 1857.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1857.

<sup>30</sup> F. L. O. to Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, July 6, 1857, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 117.

<sup>31</sup> F. L. O. to Dr. Samuel Cabot, jr., July 26, 1857.

latest move to strengthen the free-soil element in Western Texas. Padelford agreed to urge Olmsted's proposals on the associations personally, in the hope of getting them to subscribe either to the Emigrant Aid Society or to a new company, which would then finance English emigrants. "At first we must, of course, act in secret," Dr. Cabot wrote Olmsted, "but I think when the ball begins favorably to move, the knowledge that our Co. is acting will accelerate the motion & crush out old rather than arouse new opposition." He asked Olmsted to write a paper for Padelford to present to the associations and closed with the suggestion that "no means could be so effective in bringing about these objects as that you should go to England yourself."<sup>32</sup>

Olmsted, as the letters published by Dr. Bidwell show, replied that he had already written the Cotton Supply Associations at length; and he warned that, unless Padelford's reception was more favorable than Goderich's reaction gave reason to expect, nothing more should be urged than careful consideration of the emigration proposal. (His advice was later justified: the associations, in the end, refused to act.<sup>33</sup>) As to the suggestion that he go to England, Olmsted ignored it, perhaps because the crisis in his own business affairs demanded his full and personal attention.

At this point the whole matter of the free-soil movement in Western Texas dropped out of Olmsted's correspondence, though probably not out of his mind. Less than a month later, his publishing firm was engulfed in the prevailing financial panic. Within another month Olmsted sought and secured the appointment as superintendent of Central Park, and from then until the beginning of the Civil War he applied his entire energy to the novel and difficult problems involved in the creation of the park, and of the profession for which he is principally remembered.

*Washington, D. C.*

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Samuel Cabot, jr. to F. L. O., July 16, 1857.

<sup>33</sup> F. L. O. to Edward Atkinson, May 5, 1858.



DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1713-1933. By Sir Charles Petrie. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xii, 384. \$2.75.)

SIR Charles Petrie has performed a notable feat in condensing into about six hundred pages an account of the major international transactions of the principal members of the state system which grew up with the demise of medievalism in the fifteenth century. He combines chronological with topical treatment. The principal wars and treaties, regional problems such as the Near East, the Far East, America; the policies of leading states; and relations between pairs of states provide the chapter headings. Although the study ends with the advent of Hitler in 1933, the Japanese attack on Manchuria which preceded it by two years is not included.

The author's conception of diplomatic history is restricted to formal relations between governments in the struggle for survival and power. With this conception, it is natural that he should give primary emphasis to the personality of leading statesmen and to their skill in winning friends and isolating enemies, in weighing long and short run objectives, in using military power economically, in avoiding sentimental pressures of public opinion, and in practicing discretion in the observance of legal obligations. The difficulties faced by statesmen with the development of democratic institutions and public opinion during the nineteenth century, especially in England, are duly stressed. The ability and achievements of statesmen are judiciously appraised upon the standard of success in building the power of the state, especially as measured by territorial acquisition. Little is said about other objectives of statesmanship such as increases in the wealth and welfare and liberty of the population. Peace and war are treated as policies which may or may not be useful in diplomacy, not as ends in themselves. The author accepts as a fact the tendency of peoples to become enthusiastic about ideologies such as nationalism, humanitarianism, liberalism, socialism, internationalism, but he praises statesmen who, in spite of difficulties presented by the increasing influence of public opinion during the period of which he writes, kept their eye on the national interest interpreted as augmentation of the political power of the government. Richelieu, Louis XIV, and Bismarck are his heroes. Of nineteenth century British foreign secretaries, he praises only Castlereagh, Canning, Salisbury, and Lansdowne (*Diplomatic Hist.*, p. 253).

This conception of the subject eliminates or plays down the major movements of history. The reader is assumed to know the developments in mechanical inventions, in social institutions, in economic production, in population, literacy and science, and in movements of opinion, and their bearing upon diplomacy is referred to only incidentally.

Such selectiveness distorts history. In the proper sense, history seeks to recreate the total life of the nation or civilization. To abstract one aspect is like writing the biography of a man as a politician, as a writer, or as a merchant. The total personality and experience which explains the man's reaction to a particular situation is lost. Thus, discussion of the indifferent diplomatic maneuvering of

Palmerston, Malmesbury, and Gladstone in Victorian England gives a distorted picture of the role of Britain in the world during the period. Because of its priority in the Industrial Revolution, in trade, in finance, in naval strength, in empire, and in liberal democracy, Britain exerted a preventive influence diplomatically and a positive leadership socially and economically not evidenced by its formal transactions in the international field. Doubtless, as Petrie repeatedly points out, Britain could not act effectively on the Continent without an ally, but these factors, which he does not develop, aided in obtaining allies in critical situations, in curbing excessive ambitions of Continental statesmen, and in maintaining an equilibrium of power and relative peace on the Continent.

Diplomatic history in the sense employed by the author, like military history, emphasizes technique rather than history. The reader looks in vain for illumination of the basic causes for the changes in the character of diplomacy in succeeding centuries, but he does obtain much useful advice for a diplomat and much food for thought concerning policy in the present critical situation of the world. The great merits, he writes, of the treaties of Westphalia, of Utrecht, and of Vienna were that they recognized existing facts (*Early Dipl. Hist.*, pp. 150, 234; *Dipl. Hist.*, p. 126). Of the Treaty of Versailles he speaks less favorably, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact he views with contempt without indicating that he understands either its purpose or its effect in law (*Dipl. Hist.*, pp. 330, 349). Russian diplomacy has always been remarkable for its realism, he says when discussing Alexander's sudden shifts in the Napoleonic period (*ibid.*, p. 94). A conference that fails to agree nearly always leaves a situation worse than it found it (*ibid.*, p. 158). Concerning the blundering beginning of the Crimean War, he quotes Walpole: "Lord Palmerston's action robbed Lord Aberdeen's conciliation of its grace; and Lord Aberdeen's conciliation took the strength out of Lord Palmerston's action" (*ibid.*, p. 202).

The chapters devoted to the United States are short and of indifferent quality. "The U.S.A. as a world power, 1783-1898" is covered in eight pages dealing mainly with territorial expansion which he says the American citizen regarded as "less reprehensible than that of other nations" (*ibid.*, p. 278). He calls the *Alabama* a "privateer" and says the arbitration that arose from it was "the first occasion on which an international dispute was referred to the decision of a regular tribunal of lawyers and statesmen on the analogy of a private law suit in a court of justice" (*ibid.*, p. 280). On these and on other occasions he exhibits little interest in, or knowledge of, international law.

The author would doubtless acknowledge that diplomatic history is only one approach to the study of international relations. His book, however, reducing that approach to the bare bones illustrates its limitations. The reader learns the principal objectives of the men who have made national policies, their methods, and the reasons for their successes or failures. The diplomatic causes and consequences of the principal wars are given with admirable conciseness, but the

reader who cannot supply much background in movements, economics, culture, institutions, technology, and opinion may be misled. Only a sophisticated reader can properly appraise the evaluations which Sir Charles Petrie makes perfectly properly if his restricted point of view is understood.

The book includes a brief bibliography for each chapter and good indexes. In view of the small attention given to them in the text, it is rather surprising to find appendixes devoted to the Monroe Doctrine, the Fourteen Points, and plebiscites. Both volumes should prove useful for reference and also as textbooks, particularly because of the opportunity given the instructor to fill in gaps.

*University of Chicago*

QUINCY WRIGHT

THE UNITED STATES AND SCANDINAVIA. By *Franklin D. Scott*.  
[American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press.  
1950. Pp. xviii, 359. \$4.00.)

THE newest book of the American Foreign Policy Library, edited by Mr. Sumner Welles and Professor Donald C. McKay, deals with the Scandinavian countries; the author is Professor Franklin D. Scott, of Northwestern University. It recommends itself immediately by being vividly written so as to catch and to keep the reader's interest and by the evident first-hand knowledge of the subject. Obviously, the author knows Sweden better than the other Scandinavian countries, quite naturally so since the starting point of his Scandinavian studies was the history of Sweden. But he has made honest and mostly successful efforts to grasp the development and the problems of the other countries as well; he is even able to produce new information from the archives of Norway. The two central chapters of the book, and those which seem likely to be of most interest to American readers, "Functioning Social Democracy" and "The Twentieth Century Economy," are remarkably well balanced. They make clear the characteristic Scandinavian system of intimate co-operation between private interest and government control. The author has well observed how the democratic processes introduced into economic planning make it something very different from totalitarian systems, and he justly stresses the undogmatic spirit of northern socialism. There are some minor errors, not worth mentioning, in his facts, and it would have been desirable to see some more proofs of the author's statement (p. 197) that, in these countries, postwar planning was a natural development out of past experience; in this regard, more highly interesting facts might have been considered.

The author has performed the remarkable feat of presenting the external history of Scandinavia through one thousand years in ten extremely readable pages. In the historical chapters of the book, however, of which these pages form a brilliant part, some objections force themselves on the student. A critical historian may question the author's assertion (pp. 40, 43) as to the individualism

of both the heathen and the Christian religions of the ancient Scandinavians. It is necessary to warn against unreservedly accepting Greenland's "rediscovery" by an expedition of King Christian I in 1472 (p. 24). And it is distressing to see the Kensington rune inscription, dated 1362, quoted (p. 24) as a historical document, though regarded as a falsification by all runologists of the world. It appears a reversion of the march of history, in the presentation of the growth of political democracy in the North (pp. 50 ff.), to start with Sweden, continue with Denmark, and finally arrive at Norway, since the real progression went the opposite way. The Swedish constitution of 1809 can by no stretch of interpretation be said to be a measure of democracy; during the whole of the nineteenth century, Norway was in the van of northern democracy. It ought to have been pointed out more clearly that the democracy of the Scandinavian countries differs from that of the United States by being founded not on a system of checks and balances but on one of consolidation of state powers.

The chapter on "Scandinavian-American Crosscurrents" is on the whole very good, particularly so the part of it entitled "Cultural Crosscurrents." Without going deeply into the matter it gives some highly illuminating glimpses of interesting relations.

The concluding chapters offer an excellent and sympathetic summary of the struggles of the Scandinavian nations for neutrality and peace and of their vicissitudes under Nazi tyranny. Here are, however, a few points which demand serious correction. I wonder how the author could find it warrantable to quote (p. 226) the more than cryptic instruction said to have been given on a certain occasion by the British government to its delegates at the League of Nations: "Britain expects every Swede to do his duty," a sentence evidently forged by some Anglophobe. Further, I think there is no proof of his assertion (p. 264) that, after the French debacle in 1940, Sweden was officially informed that Britain was prepared to make peace on whatever terms she could get; the government of Churchill certainly never thought of such a thing. Two other assertions by the author are concerned with the present writer, then Norwegian minister for foreign affairs. It is not true (p. 312) that Norway threatened to fight France and Britain if they sent their troops across her territory to aid Finland, and, thus, there was never any danger that Norway might let herself be maneuvered into war with Britain. On page 239 the author says, "Foreign Minister Koht asked his friend the German Minister, Doctor Kurt Bräuer, what the reports [of German action against Norway] could mean and Dr. Bräuer denied them." This whole story of my trusting in Dr. Bräuer (why call him my "friend"? ) is founded on reports which have been proved to be false. A certain frivolity of the author, displayed at these points, contrasts strangely with the general respect for historical facts that distinguishes his book and which makes it such a valuable contribution to northern studies.

*Oslo, Norway*

HALVDAN KOHT

THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN-PALESTINE RELATIONS. By Frank E. Manuel. (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 378. \$5.00.)

IN spite of this reviewer's aversion to books which claim to present "realities," Frank E. Manuel's assessment of American-Palestine relations is undoubtedly inspired by a keen desire to get at the truth of this highly controversial subject. Rather pretentiously, the author states that "attempts to check specific quotations from manuscript sources will entail substantial archival search on the part of the curious"; needless to say, no such search has been undertaken.

Dr. Manuel goes back to the "Early Years in the Old Settlement" in his first chapter, portrays the situation before World War I in the next two, then follows with three substantial chapters on "Defense in World War I," "Wilson's State Department and the Balfour Declaration," and "The Crucible of the Peace Conference." A chapter on the Anglo-American treaty of 1924 is followed by a concluding chapter outlining the situation during the succeeding twenty-five years. Such a distribution of emphasis, while well in keeping with the author's available source material, suggests that his title should have been limited to the historical period down to 1929 or 1930. Nevertheless, there is a skillful assessment of later developments in that concluding sketch.

On the whole, Dr. Manuel's study confirms the conclusions of earlier inquiries but makes them more secure through his archival supporting evidence. Thus, Mr. Justice Brandeis' role in the shaping of the Balfour Declaration is made clear, but his influence is shown to have been limited at the crucial point, when "Palestine as the national home" became "a national home *in* Palestine." "Under the circumstances, it is rather far-fetched to consider Wilson one of the progenitors of the Balfour Declaration . . . he allowed it to happen" (p. 169). Yet, it was a victory of Zionism over anti-Zionism in England and in the State Department.

This reviewer particularly appreciated Dr. Manuel's helpful disentangling of the complex skeins of policy and diplomacy at the peace conference. Inter-Allied, inter-Arab, and inter-Jewish conflicts and controversies are shown along with the vigorous efforts of distinct human beings, such as Brandeis, Feisal, Frankfurter, and W. Yale. The pro-Arab efforts of the missionaries and their academic friends are described fully, if not sympathetically. The defeat of Brandeis and his friends is effectively assessed. "The Americans, the Weizmann partisans said, did not understand that the Zionist movement was not a business affair." To which Manuel adds that "the Brandeis people would neglect the *Kibutz*, that unique form of cooperative labor on the land. . . . They had no feeling for the idealism of the pioneers" (p. 266). Yet, "The departure of the Brandeis group left a great void both in American and World Zionism."

Having described the complicated events which led to the establishment of the British mandate, Manuel then considers the long period of American indifference, 1922-1933, with its wordy, high-sounding presidential greetings, congressional resolutions, and disappointing figures of immigration and settlement.

Zionism, Dr. Manuel believes, was moribund by 1933, and it was Hitler who revived it. In line with the reviewer's *American Policy toward Palestine*, chapter VII, the author considers the persecution inaugurated by the Nazis as the turning point. But he does not fully elucidate this fact, because of understandable hesitation to enter upon the tortuous path of analyzing the meaning of Hitlerism itself. This hesitancy prevents Dr. Manuel from achieving the perspective on the new state of Israel which his treatment of the earlier phases of American-Palestine relations possesses. His predictive assessment of future policy is marred thereby.

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

LES TENTATIVES DE PAIX DANS LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE (1939-1945). By *Maxime Mourin*. [Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre.] (Paris: Payot. 1949. Pp. 221. 480 fr.)

LESS than a month after World War II began, a German "peace offensive" was launched, with Soviet support. Thereafter, right up to the end, the search for peace proceeded between, and even during, the fiercest fighting. Of this search, M. Mourin has written a fascinating but uncritical account.

The first campaign seemed to have the best chance of success. It was begun on September 28, 1939, by a joint declaration of Ribbentrop and Molotov stating that all reason for the war of Britain and France against Germany had ended, now that "the problems arising from the disintegration of the Polish state" had been "definitively settled." On the one hand, Britain and France had stood idle while Poland was conquered; on the other hand, the alliance between Hitler and Stalin was now solidified by the necessity of protecting their Polish conquests. Surely, the British and French would realize the futility of continued war. The men of Munich were still in power; in both countries the Communists were preaching the blessings of peace.

When the Russo-German declaration was unheeded, Hitler put out rumors of an impending attack, with the small western neutrals marked as the first victims. The rumors induced these neutrals to offer their services in the cause of peace; but again Britain and France were obdurate. Reluctantly, the Nazi plans for attack on the west were readied.

With the fall of France, German confidence in the speedy return of peace revived. Again the Communists gave support. Once more, the campaign failed, and, as hope of peace waned, Nazi-Soviet relations deteriorated. A few weeks before the German attack on Russia, Rudolf Hess flew to England, wildly expecting to achieve the peace with Britain which many Nazis hoped would be a consequence of the impending war in the east.

Even before June 22, 1941, there were many crosscurrents in the campaign for peace. After that date, it is impossible briefly to summarize the innumerable peace feelers, official and unofficial, sincere and insincere.



M. Mourin gives these complicated intrigues an interest which is heightened by relating them skillfully to the somber background of death and destruction. To build the story, he has drawn from the records of the Nuremberg trials, from documentary collections, from biographies and memoirs, and from the press. Unfortunately, he has not subjected this material to critical examination. He draws some of his most exciting materials, without warning his readers, from sources which are at least suspect; and the task of checking his references is made almost impossible by failure to cite pages. Even more disturbing are the evidences of carelessness: American readers will be surprised to hear that "le colonel Lindbergh, le journaliste Hamilton Fisch Armstrong, le Père Coughlin, le colonel Mac Cormick" all expressed the same opinions, opinions identical with those of the German-American Bund.

As M. Mourin says, the materials on World War II are already so abundant that archivists estimate their collections in terms of millions of tons or kilometers. In this situation, precise understanding of events can grow only if scholars can build with confidence on the work already done by others. It is particularly disheartening to observe how frequently critical standards are ignored in studies of this period, even brilliant studies such as this one.

*University of California, Berkeley*

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

A HISTORY OF EXPLORATION: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Brigadier-General Sir *Percy Sykes*, Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical and Royal Empire Societies. (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xiv, 426. \$6.00.)

THE history of discovery and exploration has long been one of the most fascinating phases of the history of man's quest for knowledge of his environment. The chronicles of exploration, describing the feats of daring and endurance of those bent upon lifting the veil of ignorance from regions shown by blank spaces on the map were usually among the most popular books of their time. Starting with the great history of English explorations, collected and edited by Hakluyt in Elizabethan times, a noble tradition of historical literature was born, to continue, unbroken, to our time. Sir Percy Sykes's work on the history of exploration deserves a place of honor among the outstanding contemporary works on that subject.

The author of *A History of Exploration* was unusually well qualified for his task, being a man of many parts. Soldier, administrator, diplomat, Sir Percy was not only one of Britain's most distinguished civil servants in the Near East but also an explorer and historian of note. His books on his travels in Persia and central Asia and his *History of Persia* are among the standard works dealing with that area. The present volume, in many ways, represents the culmination of a lifetime of field work and research concerned with history, exploration, and geography. It tells the story of geographical discovery from ancient times to the

present. An appendix brings the sequence up to the outbreak of World War II, thus making Sykes's work perhaps the most complete of its kind now in print. The author paints his historical canvas with bold strokes, yet avoids easy generalizations. His unusually wide knowledge of many parts of the world adds a personal touch to the narrative and saves it from becoming a mere listing of dates, names, and places. If, at times, there seems to be an overemphasis on British explorers at the expense of others, there is at least partial justification for this in the vast store of knowledge contributed to geography by Britishers. In a very few instances a somewhat hasty perusal of sources led the author to disputable statements. Thus he names al-Farabi "*the* greatest of all Arab philosophers" and, in another instance, confuses Yezo (Hokkaido) island in the north of Japan with Edo, the Tokugawa name for present-day Tokyo. But no man can claim authoritative knowledge on all phases of such a vast subject, and the present author's record is far above the average. One also feels that certain areas of the world where British explorers were most active, such as Africa and the Near East, are treated in much more detail than others, such as the Americas. In this respect, the absence of any reference to the work carried out by Russian scholars and explorers in the Arctic in recent years is one of the very few major omissions in the present volume.

Sir Percy ends his narrative of discoveries on a high note of optimism and confidence in the future expansion of our knowledge of the earth. But isn't there also, at this time, reason to accept the more cautious judgment of Professor J. N. L. Baker? "The history of geographical discovery and exploration," Baker states, "shows no continuous progress, but a series of advances followed by periods of inactivity or of actual regression." The rapid conquest of space by modern means of transportation seems to have been accompanied, in recent years, by a parallel tendency to obstruct travel and exploration over sizable parts of the world. The era of discovery may have ended, but the era of an accurate description and inventory of the earth has really just begun. It is to that task that future historians will have to dedicate themselves with the breadth of vision, the extensive knowledge, and the enthusiastic belief in progress that characterize the work of Sir Percy Sykes.

*University of Michigan*

GEORGE KISH

A HISTORY OF BIOLOGY: A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LIVING THINGS. By *Charles Singer*. (Rev. ed.; New York: Henry Schuman. 1950. Pp. xxxv, 579. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a revised edition of Charles Singer's *The Story of Living Things*, which was published in 1931 and which has long been out of print. Many students and teachers of biology will be glad to hear of the publication of this second edition, for Charles Singer knows the fascinating story of biology's development

and he knows too how to write. The tired graduate student preparing for the doctorate will not be able to use this history of biology as a good sedative at bed time, but he will be able to get refreshment and pleasure from reading twenty or thirty pages in it every night for a few weeks. It is a suggestive and stimulating book, written with lively interest and with great simplicity. The style is clear and concise, the choice of illustrations excellent. The author states in the introduction, "Great scientific advances are not now, nor have they ever been, of their own nature specially difficult of comprehension. On the contrary, a test of the significance of scientific doctrine is the degree to which it can be reduced to a simple formula. It is not the positive conquests of science that are peculiarly obscure, but rather the confused yet active battle-front along which science is advancing at any given moment."

He recognizes that the divisions between the departments of biology and between the separate sciences themselves are "largely artificial and related to pressing practical needs," and that the various biological fields and the different sciences "have developed and are developing not in watertight compartments but in intimate relation to each other." He has therefore constructed his book so as to lead up to the study of modern biological problems which demand for their solution many different sciences in turn. Instead of writing a "truncated account" of the development of science, terminating with the end of some artificial period in the past, he has brought the story up to the present under the conviction that the purpose of writing a history of biology is to relate current problems with those of the past in order to deepen and enrich the understanding of the present.

The subject is dealt with under three headings. In Part I the "Older Biology" is treated, from the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Galen through those of Leonardo da Vinci, Vesalius, and Harvey in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Part II deals with the "Historical Foundations of Modern Biology" established during the succeeding period, when the investigation of nature became organized. The five chapters of this part include discussions of "The Inductive Philosophy and Some of Its Instruments," "The Rise of Classificatory Systems," "The Rise of Comparative Method," "Distribution in Space and Time," and "Evolution."

In Part III, "The Emergence of the Main Themes of Contemporary Biology" is considered, the main themes that have been at the center of biological problems for the last ninety years. If Singer's treatment in this part of his book of seven modern problems were the only treatment accessible to the student, the omissions and in a few cases the statements shown by recent work to be erroneous would be cause for serious regret. As the author himself predicts in his introduction, in any one of these special fields "his emphases and elisions will alike be subject to the criticism of working men of science," for he realizes that the historian who brings the story up to date "cannot cover, of his own knowledge, the whole area

of the subject of which he treats." But these chapters on specific subjects are not supposed to be full textbook treatments; their value lies rather in the skillful bringing together of various aspects of each problem in a brief but suggestive way, and in the successful relating of the problem as a whole to the past work that has been described in the earlier part of the book. If the book is read as a whole, therefore, it will certainly leave the reader with a more integrated knowledge of the separate fields of biology and with an awareness of the fact that knowledge of one science is incomplete until one has studied also the history of that science.

Wellesley College

MARY L. AUSTIN

THE HISTORY OF SUGAR. By *Noel Deerr*. In two volumes. (London: Chapman and Hall. 1949, 1950. Pp. xiv, 258; xiv, 259-636. 50s., 55s.)

THE story of the rise and development of the sugar industry from ancient times to the contemporary era should be as enthralling to the social scientist as it is important for mankind in general. For it is closely interwoven with the growth of past civilizations and with the colonization of the tropics by the white race in modern times. Sugar cane, historically the main source of this item in man's diet, belongs in the category of staple crops, and upon its successful cultivation has hinged the prosperity or decline of regions. In these two volumes it is the author's intent to summarize all that is known about the origin of cane culture—with some attention to the lesser sources of sugar, like honey, beets, etc.—its spread throughout the globe, the system of slave labor on the plantation, the daily routine of the planter, the imposition of duties and bounties on the commodity, the varying prices and values of sugar, and at the end the outstanding mechanical inventions making possible the modern mill.

Volume I is primarily a history of the expansion of cane cultivation over the surface of the world. The author asserts that it originated in the islands of the South Pacific, a theory seemingly well supported by etymology, folklore, and other evidence, and was transmitted by migration or conquest to India, the Near East, southern Europe, and eventually to the New World, where it has flourished most abundantly. The chronological account is made clearer by the use of good area maps and statistical tables showing current and past production.

Major emphasis in both volumes, possibly disproportionate, is given to the study of the English West Indian colonists, no doubt attributable to the author's familiarity with the region, to the excellent colonial records available, and to the place of importance these islands occupied in the eighteenth century. In the discussion of the varieties of cane (chap. III), he takes issue with Professor Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class* (p. 80, not p. 90), that one of the chief reasons for the decay of the West Indian industry was the introduction of a new, more productive (Otaheite) species. The real factors, in his opinion, were instead soil depletion

of the small islands and the opening up of virgin areas in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions.

Volume II is supplemental, an attempt to round out the picture by the inclusion of many diverse political and economic features, all conceivably related in one way or another to the production of sugar. These range from the slave trade and black servitude to the levying of sugar duties in England. The result is more in the nature of a catchall than a unified account. There is, furthermore, a tendency toward indiscreet generalizations at some points, as well as the omissions inevitable in the treatment of a broad subject in brief compass. The final and fairly long chapter, entitled "Invention and Research," a condensed account of the engineering and mechanical aspects of the industry, the story of the various inventions and their application to the development of the extremely complex modern sugar mill, seems, however, an excellent contribution.

Despite the above shortcomings, this work, on the whole, is a successful one. Aptly illustrated and carefully printed, with a good index, the volumes will be welcomed as a valuable work of reference on anything pertaining to sugar by those with a professional interest in agriculture, by economists, and by historians of world culture.

Louisiana State University

J. PRESTON MOORE

## Ancient and Medieval History

ATTHIS: THE LOCAL CHRONICLES OF ANCIENT ATHENS. By *Felix Jacoby*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. vi, 431. \$9.00.)

FELIX Jacoby has written a memorable book which deserves far wider reading than the title might suggest. In form it is really a commentary on the ancient chroniclers of Athens whose fragments appear simultaneously in Volume III B of the *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. References are made to these texts throughout, while a concordance enables the reader to consult the older collection of Müller. An index adds greatly to the usefulness of the book. The core of the work is a systematic examination of the long dominant thesis of Wilamowitz (developed in his *Aristoteles und Athen*, 2 vols., 1893), that the Athenian *exegetae* kept documentary records from an early period which were then worked up by an anonymous writer *ca.* 380 B.C. in the form of a pre-literary chronicle. This in turn was the basis for the subsequent *Atthides*. Jacoby's analysis is thorough, almost Aristotelian.

The first chapter is an inquiry into the *exegetae*, the texts concerning them being reproduced and discussed. The reader has little doubt in the end that the *exegetae* had been puffed up as a source by Wilamowitz on the faulty analogy of the Roman *pontifices*. The second chapter examines the Atthidographers themselves, beginning with the only foreigner, Hellanicus, who wrote late in the

fifth century, and ending with the seventh and last, Philochorus, in the third century B.C. Distinct personalities emerge with differing political viewpoints illustrated in their handling even of mythological figures like Theseus (pp. 140-41) but with a surprising agreement on "facts." Jacoby attempts to show that *Attides* ceased to be written precisely when debate over the proper form of government ceased to be a burning issue in Athens—i.e., after the Chremonidean War—just as *Annales* in the proper sense of the term ended when everyone became reconciled to the empire in Rome (pp. 110 f.).

The third and final chapter is of more general interest, for here Jacoby develops his own ideas on Greek historiography. He believes that the great histories (like those of Hecataeus and Herodotus and the *Hellenica* of Hellanicus) reflect the critical attitude taught by Ionian philosophy. The "facts" which are critically evaluated come from the oral tradition as voiced by the *λόγιοι ἄνδρες* (pp. 216 f.). The great histories show their epic origin in a pan-Hellenic viewpoint, and local histories arose to correct or amplify statements made about a particular city in the great histories. One remembers that Hellanicus had more "constructing" to do than most local historians because Athenian legend did not tie in with the older epic tradition (p. 121). The pamphlet literature and the *Politeiai* are also discussed, as well as the various kinds of documents used—or rather capable of being used—by historians in antiquity.

The felicity of phrasing speaks volumes for the skill of Mrs. Jacoby and Miss Alford in preserving the author's literary personality in an alien tongue. One example must suffice: "... the scholar must be doubly cautious before entering on the road where the sun-bleached bones of the pre-Homeric Homers and the pre-Herodotean Herodoti are lying" (p. 6). What might have happened more often can be seen by turning to the first sentence of the paragraph beginning on page 24.

The notes, which somewhat exceed the text in bulk, are delightfully informal. We feel privileged to interview the scholar at his desk. His language is less reserved. For example, he will say, "I have the greatest dislike of the presumption with which Wilamowitz and Beloch like to admonish Thukydides" (p. 340, n. 50); or, "Cowardice in the treatment of a text never pays" (p. 379, n. 39). Here too are masterpieces of polemic which one doubts that the author finds quite as distasteful as he asserts in the preface. The bibliographical material in the notes is invaluable, but more striking because unexpected are the numerous suggestions thrown out for future study. Students of Greek history can ill afford to overlook them.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

JUSTIN THE FIRST: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EPOCH OF JUSTINIAN THE GREAT. By *A. A. Vasiliev*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Volume I.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 439. \$6.00.)



St. Sophia, wrote a cultivated Norwegian once, "is and will remain one of the most remarkable works of architecture; if the Byzantine culture had created nothing but that, it would be sufficient to classify it among the greatest." Justinian was, of course, the builder of this magnificent monument of Byzantine art, but Justinian's reign was remarkable for other things whose significance in the history of Europe both east and west can hardly be exaggerated. Justinian had also his historian who left for posterity a detailed account of his reign. Procopius, St. Sophia, and the great monuments of Roman law have ever served to tempt the scholar. Strictly speaking Vasiliev's book is not a study on Justinian; it is a monograph devoted to the reign of Justin I, Justinian's uncle and predecessor, but it was written because the author "thought that a detailed monograph on Justin might serve as an essential basis for a better understanding and a more profound interpretation of the epoch of Justinian whose rule, behind the throne . . . started . . . from the moment of Justin's elevation. Such a monograph might stimulate some scholar to embark on a new study of Justinian's period, a work which is urgently needed." Vasiliev thus thinks of his book as the introductory chapter in the study of the epoch of Justinian.

The main body of the book is divided into eight chapters, the first of which is devoted to an examination of the sources; the others deal with the various problems and aspects of the reign of Justin I: the origins, previous career, and elevation to the throne of Justin; his domestic rule, legislative activity, and religious policy; the external position of the empire and its economic conditions.

The chapter on the religious conditions of the empire and the religious policy of the new emperor, formulated no doubt by Justinian, is by far the longest, covering more than one fourth of the entire book. This is not surprising, for the religious problem was the most pressing and serious problem that Justin had to face. Justin's religious policy, reversing that of his predecessor, brought about a rapprochement with Rome, ending thus the Acacian schism, but had serious consequences in the eastern provinces. The monophysites of these provinces resisted bitterly and Justin had to resort to persecution. Vasiliev distinguishes three phases in Justin's attitude toward the monophysites of the eastern provinces. The first phase was characterized by a rigorous persecution; it was followed by one of moderation, but toward the end of the reign this was abandoned in favor of greater rigor. The capitulation to Rome which most scholars consider as a triumph of the papacy was, according to Vasiliev "a triumph of the moment," for "the Byzantine Church and government . . . gradually extricated themselves from the papal pressure and finally regained a free hand in their own methods of managing religious life and religious difficulties within the empire." I think Vasiliev is right. I am not so sure, however, about the absolute accuracy of his statement that the implementing of Justin's new religious policy proves "once more the reality of the caesaro-papistic idea in the Byzantine Empire, where the emperor was the head of the church." That Justinian and other Byzantine emperors con-

sidered themselves, and acted as, the head of the church there can be no doubt, but there were moments in the history of the empire when this was not so. I agree with Lemerle "that the term caesaro-papism, so often used to characterize [the relation of the emperor to the church] is improper. The caesar is not pope, the profane and the sacred are not confused with each other. And in this *theocratic* state it often happened that the last word was not with the emperor." This is one aspect of the history of Byzantium that needs to be thoroughly reinvestigated.

Just as Vasiliev's book left the press another important book, the second volume of E. Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, made its appearance. Stein's treatment of the reign of Justin I covers almost fifty-five pages, the longest next to that of Vasiliev. The two accounts differ on some details, but on the fundamental questions they are in agreement. They both regard Justinian as the power behind Justin and the initiator of his policies. But the student who might want to form his own opinion on the basis of the sources would do well to study Vasiliev's book very carefully, for Vasiliev not only cites his sources—Stein does this also—but discusses them often, pointing out the various difficulties connected with them. At times this makes tedious reading, but it is very valuable, especially since some of the sources are rather obscure. Once more Vasiliev has written an extremely useful book.

*Rutgers University*

PETER CHARANIS

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE AND THE FOUR KINGS. By *Amy Kelly*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 431. \$5.00.)

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. By *Curtis Howe Walker*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 274. \$5.00.)

At long last—a scholarly biography of Eleanor of Aquitaine—actually, two of them! Queen Eleanor, whom Henry Adams proclaimed the greatest of all Frenchwomen, has waited over seven centuries for such recognition. The task of the biographers was no slight one—doubly difficult in this instance. Not only were they baffled by the usual brief and infrequent allusions to any woman, even a queen, but after 1152 by a campaign of vilification from French chroniclers in which English chroniclers joined after 1169, when Eleanor quarreled with Henry II. Any attempt to reconstruct or even to describe her career must tax both the imaginative and the critical faculties of the biographers.

Why two biographies? Wayman Adams, the artist, was invited to view an exhibition of more than a hundred paintings and sketches of a friend whose portrait he himself had painted. Fearful of being bored he hesitatingly accepted the invitation and, surprisingly, found the experience extremely interesting, for no two of the portraits were alike. Nor are these two biographies alike, and both represent supreme achievements of their authors. Both authors brought

to bear upon their task a wide range of resources, a thorough combing of all written sources, direct and indirect, visits to the regions in which Eleanor lived her career, and an unusual knowledge of the contemporary literature, art, music, and culture in which Eleanor herself was so greatly interested. Miss Kelly's bibliography is much more extensive than Professor Walker's, partly because she chose also to describe personages, movements, and cities of the time, yet Walker has included some references overlooked by her, e.g., pipe rolls for the reign of Henry II and C. S. Painter's studies of William Marshall and chivalry. Walker visited Eleanor's haunts in France and England, while Miss Kelly in addition followed her journey to Italy, Constantinople, Asia Minor, and the Holy Land. Furthermore, both authors have drawn upon their own knowledge of life for aid in interpreting Eleanor's career. It will long remain a moot question whether Miss Kelly's wider acquaintance with women or Walker's longer, fully rounded life afforded the surer guide. Only a father would have thought of scrutinizing Henry's pipe rolls for expenditures on Eleanor's household at Woodstock.

Walker's attention is concentrated upon Eleanor as a person, the young girl, the wife intent upon providing her husband with a male heir, so unsuccessful in the case of Louis VII and too successful in that of Henry II, and, finally, the mother determined to teach her children a more cultivated way of life and to insure their proper inheritance. Eleanor appears as a very vital person, playing with her children, supervising their diet, providing them with instruction in story, song, dance, and manners, and surrounding them with improved living quarters. Walker's use of imagination is bold to the point of raising a question as to the limits to which historical imagination may go before it becomes fiction. He has reconstructed scenes and even conversations, respecting the canons of scholarship, however, by indicating his reconstructions and the bases from which they were derived. Those who have marveled at the strange prehistoric creatures reconstructed by zoologists from skeletal remains or Merritt's reconstruction of Greek inscriptions from fragments of ancient tablets may applaud this effort of Walker's as more worthy of respect than that of a novelist. He is equally bold in the use of his critical faculties, refusing to entertain the obviously false slanders cast upon Eleanor's reputation, even deigning to ignore completely the episode of the poet Ventadour.

If Walker seems to present too favorable a picture of Eleanor in her youth, Miss Kelly is certainly not guilty of the same charge. Her book is a veritable model of scrupulous regard for the written word, yet she conveys almost as definite a picture of the early Eleanor as does Walker, but it is a very different picture. It is that of a beautiful young woman, gay, headstrong, vain, frivolous, and even immoral. She seems by insinuation and reiteration of St. Bernard's curse willing to visit upon Eleanor the sins of all her ancestors back to the time of "Foulques the Black and his demon countess." By implication, at least, she seems to consider Eleanor responsible for the whole chain of disasters from the holocaust at Vitry to the failure of the Second Crusade, mostly for no more serious reason than

sheer ennui, "accidia," of life with Louis VII. But little concerned with Eleanor's domestic life, Miss Kelly by-passes the sparse references to it by treating Eleanor rather as a "binder" connected with "all the personages," "movements," and "cities of the time," to which she devotes her chief attention. As a result the reader is treated to a series of beautiful pen pictures of contemporary Paris, London, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, a festoon of verbal tapestries. Especially vivid is the account of the Thomas à Becket affair. It is not until after the death of Henry II in 1189, when as virtually queen dowager she commanded the attention and respect of contemporary chroniclers, that Eleanor emerges as a fully developed personality. To this period, 1189-1204, Miss Kelly devotes more than a third of her book, in sharp contrast to the thirty-odd pages which Walker allots to the same years. By implication again, it would seem that Eleanor, chastened by many hardships including nearly fifteen years of imprisonment, had now become the wholly admirable person to whom Miss Kelly can award unstinted praise. Does the reviewer detect in the lingering scene in which Eleanor chooses the younger of her Spanish granddaughters as the proper future queen of France a promise that Miss Kelly will give us a comparable biography of Queen Blanche?

As this brief characterization indicates, the reader will have abundant opportunity to act as referee on important points of difference between those two authors. Walker, following Kugler, exonerates Eleanor from blame for the disaster at Cadmos Mountain (see *American Historical Review*, July, 1950, pp. 857-61) and is equally disinclined to blame her for Vitry or Antioch.

Undoubtedly Miss Kelly's extended accounts of scenes and events peripheral to Eleanor's career, nearly all so beautifully done, will lead specialists to complain that she has not included all the factors in any one of them. Such criticism, however, must be considered a compliment, for to have done more would have required a book on a different subject. Even as it is, most specialists will probably agree, as the reviewer does about Antioch, that she has added something to each of these topics. The date of the birth of Adele, perhaps the most crucial event in Eleanor's career, with the sequence of antecedent events so vividly and even dramatically recounted by both authors, seems somewhat askew in both accounts. But why, in such limited space, should a reviewer be called upon to find fault with two books, each in its own way so thoroughly admirable?

The reviewer's chief quarrel with both authors is that they fail to include Eleanor's continuing influence. Important as Eleanor was in the realm of European politics, a role to which Miss Kelly has done full justice, it might well be urged that Eleanor was even more important in the social and cultural development. The transformation of a gloomy fortress into a romantic castle, the improvement in diet, costume, and furnishings, the refinement of manners if not also of morals, the promotion of literature, music, and art, in all of which Eleanor was so deeply and actively interested, were all part of the heritage she passed on to her children. Her children and the children of leading nobles for whom she conducted a sort

of finishing school at Poitou carried her influence to France, England, Spain, Germany, and Italy. It was for them that Chrétien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach brought the court epic to its highest development. And it was their leadership which brought about that rapid improvement in the pageantry and chivalry of social life which characterized the thirteenth century. Eleanor may not have originated any part of this development, but it would be difficult to name any single individual who did more to promote and accelerate all of it.

In conclusion, the reviewer desires to pay tribute to two great achievements, each in its own way, and to emphasize the judgment that anyone interested in Eleanor should read and study both. Miss Kelly's book is a beautiful piece of belles-lettres, almost worthy to be placed by the side of Adams' *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, while that of Walker is a mature, bold, and well-written interpretation of a famous woman as such. Nor can the reviewer overlook the magnificent way in which each of the publishers has co-operated in presenting these masterpieces.

*University of Minnesota*

A. C. KREY

LES HOMMES D'AFFAIRES ITALIENS DU MOYEN AGE. By *Yves Renouard*, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. [Collection Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. ix, 262. 480 fr.)

GERMAN scholars were the first to do research in Italian economic history, and we are still greatly indebted to the pioneer studies of Davidsohn, Doren, Goldschmidt, Schaube, and Sieveking. In recent years their work has been continued by Italian, French, and American historians whose unremitting efforts have greatly advanced our knowledge of economic developments in medieval Italy. Nevertheless the Italian archives are so overwhelmingly rich that work is still in an exploratory stage. For this reason Dean Renouard's book is not a definitive work and makes no pretense of being. Its chief merit is that it incorporates and synthesizes the results of the most recent studies, which are unfortunately scattered in monographs and periodicals, principally in Italian, a language neglected in American curriculums. As a result, there is still a tendency to overemphasize English economic history and to credit the age of the Reformation with the introduction of business techniques and institutions that are, in fact, much older Italian inventions.

The Italian businessmen of the Middle Ages, who are the subject of Monsieur Renouard's book, have given to modern business most of its terminology and created most of the institutions, such as banking, insurance, and partnerships, which are indispensable to its efficient operation. The author traces their origins back to the crusades and even earlier and draws a vivid picture of the activity of the maritime cities, Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, during the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries. For Genoa, he uses chiefly the studies of Professor Robert Lopez, of Yale, and the material made available by Professor Eugene H. Byrne and his students at the University of Wisconsin. M. Renouard then describes the decline of the traveling trade and the rise of new forms of organization in which the "sedentary" merchant directs his affairs from the countinghouse by means of correspondents abroad. This development was probably initiated by the cities of the interior, such as Piacenza, Siena, and Florence. The fourteenth century witnessed the rise of great concerns, such as the Bardi and the Peruzzi companies, and their ultimate collapse as the result of risky loans to rulers. The lesson did not bear fruit, and later companies, including the Medici, succumbed to the same imprudent policy, which seems to have been the congenital weakness of the great Italian mercantile and banking companies. The most novel chapters are those which Monsieur Renouard devotes to the attitude of the Italian merchant toward culture and humanism. They are especially well done.

In sum, the book is a successful synthesis. Its publication is also timely, because an inventory needs to be made from time to time in any field of research. Renouard's book gives us a view of what has been achieved and what remains to be done.

The book represents French scholarship at its best with emphasis on clear exposition. Nothing comparable is available in English. The book has, in my opinion, an appeal similar to Eileen Power's *Medieval People*. While it is not suitable as a textbook, it will be extremely useful as collateral reading for college courses in history. May a publisher soon give a translation to the English-speaking world.

Wells College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

THE JEWS IN MEDIEVAL GERMANY: A STUDY OF THEIR LEGAL AND SOCIAL STATUS. By *Guido Kisch*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 655. \$10.00.)

THE publication of such a book as this, in times like these, raises the question of the social responsibility of the historical scholar. There could be little doubt of the great present utility of a book that sets out to describe and explain how once previously, under circumstances quite different from their most recent attempt, the Germans were able to conceive and then to bring about the "actual decline and gradual extermination of the German-Jewish community during the last century and a half of the Middle Ages." The serious American reader accordingly, who, with considerable anticipation, picks up a book of this general title, hopes to find therein help not only better to understand the barbaric and cruel aberration of the Nazis but also to improve the quality and extent of our own democracy. There can be no doubt of the author's competence to give his American audience this help. He is a learned representative of the German school of



legal historians. He has suffered much from the brutality of the Nazis. He admits, moreover (p. 367), that there is "no modern, authoritative monograph on the general history of the Jews in medieval Germany" and that "the pertinent sections in the well-known comprehensive presentations of Jewish history . . . are, to say the least, not up to date now." He even recognizes the need for such a volume ("a great desideratum of historical research"). And yet he chooses to ignore this paramount need of the moment and to indulge his professional privilege of restricting himself "to a very limited field." As if nothing had happened to the world in recent years, we are presented on a matter of such critical import with another typical product of rather contentious German scholarship.

The result is, if one is to speak frankly, a learned to be sure, but an unnecessarily expanded, expensive, and actually dull book addressed to a very restricted audience. It is prefaced by an interminable introduction (pp. 3-107) whose long section on "Sources and Literature" and whose obvious comments (e.g., "the legal history of the Jews in Germany is simultaneously a part of German legal history and of the history of the Jews in Germany") could have been much reduced or even confined to footnotes. Parts II and III (pp. 107-302) discuss in detail those aspects of the legal status of the Jews that are revealed specifically by the various German law books (e.g., *Sachsenspiegel*, *Schwabenspiegel*). The author pays special attention to the decisions of the Magdeburg jury court, a kind of supreme court of appeal for those eastern towns which adopted the municipal law of Magdeburg. The book is then brought to some kind of conclusion in Part IV (pp. 305-67), the most valuable part of the volume ("The General Aspects of Medieval Jewry-Law"). Here Kisch concludes that the early favorable position of the Jew in German law gradually disappeared after 1236, chiefly for religious and economic reasons ("The Jew as a Deliberate Unbeliever," pp. 323-27; "The Jew as a Usurer," pp. 327-29). The seal was put upon this disappearance after the anti-Jewish canon and Roman law had worked their way into German law. For this reviewer the description of the favorable position of the Jew in early German law is made less convincing by the failure to consider the general aspects of Jewish life in the German community.

The essential part of the book (pp. 107-367) is then followed by two hundred pages of footnotes (pp. 367-567) in the course of which the author cites himself some two hundred times. In these it is taken for granted that the reader wishes to be informed of Kisch's stand upon the minute variations in points of view reflected by the voluminous literature. This elaborate and subjective display of learning will be useful only to a very few specialists in this country. Yet these footnotes are followed by a formal bibliography of forty-two pages more, repeating the bibliographical information given in the previous two hundred pages. In this way, together with an index of forty-six pages, the size of the book is raised to 655 pages and the price to a figure beyond the purse of the average scholar. The possible readers of the book are reduced accordingly from the start to a compara-

tively insignificant number. The use made by Kisch of his previous publications makes it appear that his book is a kind of summary of a life of patient scholarship in this field. It is thus all the more melancholy to contemplate the actual use to which so much scholarly devotion will be put.

The author remarks that "in America, where legal history has not yet been generally recognized as a separate field of historical studies . . . research in legal history is only in its incipient stages." It is reasonable, however, to consider whether the present volume can properly stimulate us to realize our shortcomings or whether it may not leave us content to abandon the field to others. It is indeed possible that, if carried to other fields of historical study, the continued luxurious and indulgent publication of writing of this kind will help to carry history down the same dismal road to comparative extinction as the classics. Was it not, in part, this kind of research, narrow in its appeal and disdaining to be immediately helpful, that made German academic circles so ineffective before 1933? And is it not therefore to be hoped that the young American scholar be not tempted to assume that scholarship is rightfully privileged and pampered in this way and that he rather incline to make a more gracious, humble, and pertinent attempt to relate his work to the needs of his time?

*University of Nebraska*

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

THE POPES AND HERESY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By Rev. *Albert Clement Shannon*, O.E.S.A. (Villanova, Penna.: Augustinian Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 148.)

FATHER Shannon has written a thorough, interesting, and temperate study of a significant problem—the development of papal policy toward heresy and its repression from the reign of Innocent III to that of Boniface VIII. The approach, through the registers and other printed bulls of the popes concerned, is one that throws very little light on the nature of heresy (a matter on which the pontiffs do not appear to have been notably well informed) but is more fruitful for the development of repressive measures, and the author is able to challenge several time-honored opinions.

Perhaps he is least convincing in questioning Lea's contention that appeals to Rome from inquisitorial sentences were extremely difficult and Tanon's analogous view that appeals were really open only to comparatively influential persons or groups. Though he is able to cite many instances of papal intervention, rather few of them can be classified as clearly appellate; of eight citations from the registers of Nicholas IV (p. 124), for example, five involve no more than papal dispensation for children of heretics to receive public office or ecclesiastical preferment and seem to imply no review of the original condemnations, if such there had been. Moreover, Father Shannon's belief that some of these appeals came from "relatively inconsequential people" is almost impossible to substantiate;

the sources do not sufficiently enlighten us as to the social status, wealth, or connections of the parties concerned. Certainly the paucity of genuinely appellate cases found in the papal registers would seem to indicate that the road to Rome was fairly free of inquisitorial litigants.

The author is on firmer ground in denying the "necessary juridical connection" commonly assumed between the bull of 1252 permitting torture in inquisitorial cases, but without clerical participation, and bulls of 1256 and 1262 authorizing inquisitors to absolve each other from irregularity of procedure (pp. 79-82); only papal intent is at issue here, for the potential effect of the bulls is obvious. In a solid treatment of the death penalty for heresy (pp. 102-16), Father Shannon takes issue sharply with Coulton's argument that Innocent III employed *exterminare* in the sense "to kill," and rejects convincingly the view of Flicker and Vacandard that Gregory IX approved the death penalty, responsibility for which is attributed rather to Innocent IV.

*Queens College, New York*

RICHARD W. EMERY

MEDIEVAL PAPALISM: THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE MEDIEVAL CANONISTS. By *Walter Ullman*, Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Leeds. [The Maitland Memorial Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge in Lent Term 1948.] (London: Methuen and Company, 1949. Pp. xiv, 230. 18s.)

THESE lectures, delivered in honor of the great Dean F. W. Maitland, to whom we owe so much for his contributions to both history and law, are themselves a valuable contribution to an important section of medieval thought. As the title indicates, Dr. Ullman has focused his attention on the papalist theory of world domination as shown in the writings of canonists, and, as he himself informs us (p. ix), of those from the second half of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century. Particularly valuable are unpublished manuscript sources quoted, especially those which Dr. Ullman himself discovered in the cathedral chapter libraries of Durham, Lincoln, Worcester, and York, and in two college libraries at Cambridge.

Dr. Ullman had two main objectives in the lectures, the more restricted one to bring out the hitherto little-known contribution of English canonists to papalist thought, the broader one to redress the unbalance which he claims has been caused by an overemphasis on the writings of the publicists and an underemphasis on those of the canonists. But not everyone will agree with his somewhat cavalier dismissal of the Carlyles, who, he says with less than justice, "devoted only a negligible space to the canonistic teachings" (p. 1). Dr. Ullman, in accordance with his plan, all but ignores the publicists, both those of his own chosen period and those of preceding centuries. To obtain the complete picture, therefore, the student will have to supplement his work by reading the well-known treatises on the publicists.

The author disavows any intention of passing on the rightness or wrongness of an issue which he calls "easily the most profoundest [*sic*] of the whole Middle Ages." This issue—whether the popes had supreme temporal as well as supreme spiritual power—it is now generally admitted was wrongly solved by the extreme papalist canonists. Dr. Ullman states that the theory of the latter had "no heirs," but it seems that his scruples as a historian need not have hindered him from showing why the extreme papalist theory had no heirs: it was an erroneous one and hence sterile. The error consisted principally in abandoning the Gelasian dualism of two societies in favor of a one-society theory, in which the emperor was merely a functionary of the church. The publicists, who initiated the misapprehension so enthusiastically adopted by many canonists, were also the first to doubt its validity. One already sees the beginning of a return to Gelasianism in Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century.

The historian will question many of Dr. Ullman's value judgments, usually expressed adjectivally; he will also have difficulty in ascertaining exactly what meaning is attached here to *petitio principii* ("perhaps the most striking feature of all medieval scholarship") (p. 77; cf. also pp. 83, 150). One is also tempted to deny outright the statement, many times repeated, that the "natural law" was identical with the principles of the Old and New Testaments. A reading of Aquinas' *Summa*, for instance, would have furnished a corrective.

The book is equipped with an appendix in eight parts (pp. 199–215), a list of manuscript sources, and a fairly serviceable index. The volume is unfortunately marred by many misprints.

Catholic University of America

WILFRID PARSONS

FRIAR FELIX AT LARGE: A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND. By H. F. M. Prescott. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. 254. \$3.75.)

PILGRIMS were a commonplace on the medieval highway and constituted a definite element in the medieval scene. They wore the penitential garb with its red cross and carried only the script and staff. A pilgrimage was a serious business for most, inasmuch as it was undertaken by some as a part of the penance imposed for sin, by many to soothe their consciences, and by a few out of curiosity. The layman made his preparations for departure, but in addition to these the cleric had to obtain permission from his ecclesiastical superiors. Thus it was in the year 1480, the Dominican, Friar Felix Fabri set out from Ulm for Jerusalem on the first of his two pilgrimages.

Friar Felix was a very human individual whose friar's habit covered an ebullient nature, a taste for a good joke, an eye that saw and noticed the passing scene, and, like most modern "rubbernecks," he loved to climb hills and rocks for the sake of the scene. His was an uninhibited and simple nature, and in consequence his *Evagatorium* is one of the most interesting accounts of the many

we have left from the hundreds of pilgrims. The motivation for the journey was not atonement for sin, nor a dark conscience, but the very laudable desire of a man who taught Scripture to see the land of the scriptural scene. At least this is Felix's story. His first pilgrimage was a disappointment insofar as the objective went, but he met some very interesting people, such as the dandified Dominican bishop and the Dalmatian who returned "lit up" from a few hours ashore. In the darkness he fell down the hatchway, but insisted, "I had the ladder under me and I went down three steps." He was told, "The ladder was taken away an hour ago." He persisted, "That's not true, for I had gone down three steps already, and when I stood on the third, it was dragged out from under me" (p. 60). Felix could tell of such scenes, but not his sophisticated pilgrim contemporary, Casola (M. M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, Manchester, 1907).

Felix's second pilgrimage was more profitable to himself and to the modern reader. He was a seasoned traveler, took notes daily, and indulged his penchant for visiting churches and climbing hills to the full. His comments on Jerusalem and the holy places do not greatly differ from the general guides for pilgrims, but his asides give us color and insight into Christian and Moslem alike. His curiosity led him everywhere, even into a Moslem house whose owner happened to be absent. I have a feeling that his second visit to the Jordan was not as enjoyable as the first. On the latter, he acted with becoming ecclesiastical propriety, neither taking off his habit nor going for a swim, nor participating in the spirit of the outing as he had done on the former visit. We leave, like our modern travelogs, Friar Felix Fabri (he probably loved his brethren to call him F.F.F.) as he is about to undertake the desert journey to Mount Sinai.

Mr. Prescott has given us a wonderful book. He knows contemporary pilgrim literature thoroughly, and, where Felix fails, Mr. Prescott fills the gap from the others' contributions. He also knows Friar Felix and understands him and his times. *Friar Felix at Large* might well, with the danger perhaps of being too modern, be rendered, "Friar Felix, Rubberneck."

Fordham University

JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN

## Modern European History

THE UNITY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY: A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL SURVEY. By *John Bowle*, Lecturer in Modern History, Wadham College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. 383. \$4.00.)

In the preface and introduction of this book the author states that many ordinary men and women are in a state of despair over the tragedies of our time and that it is his purpose to help them to look to the future with greater confidence. If they read his brief survey of the European past, it is the author's hope

that they will realize that destructive forces have been overcome before and that they will find reason to hope that the great European tradition, with its abiding Christian and humanist values, will survive the present dangers that are inherent in nationalism and class war. In order, apparently, to exorcise these pernicious forces, he insists that "the study of the European past demonstrates the unity of Western culture" (p. 10) and of European history itself.

As the reader lays this interesting and well-written book aside, he feels that the author's insistence upon the unity of European history is an act of will in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Again and again, no matter how checkered the picture, even in the days of the Roman Empire and the Age of Faith, when there is some basis for his thesis, the reader is asked to see emerging from the admitted diversity and strife the best European traditions: tolerance, objectivity, respect for the worth and dignity of individual judgment, equality before the law, the right to a voice in the government through properly elected representatives, and, above it all, a sense of unity and of European order. Admitting to a "ruthless treatment of . . . a great subject" in the sense just noted, he is almost belligerent toward the Germans and their role in the history of Europe: particularly toward Brandenburg-Prussia, Frederick the Great, and Hegel. This bitterness toward the Germans comes as a surprise to the reader who has been edified by the author's praise of Thucydides as "the creator of a fine tradition of impartial judgment and cool analysis" (p. 44). In contrast to his treatment of the Germans, that of Soviet Russia is almost neutral, though the democracies of the West are clearly shown to represent the best European traditions.

The reader may well wonder how long this book which represents the presentist-relativist type of historiography and in which the author describes his method as "impressionist" will be useful. However, this is not the place to discuss the proper functions of the historian. Several mistakes of fact, which are remarkably few for so comprehensive a study, have been noticed: Pope Stephen II approached Pepin the Short in the middle of the eighth century, not the seventh (p. 98); other important factors in addition to administrative difficulties and the division of the family inheritance of the Carolingians figured in the disruption of their empire (p. 105); Frederick the Great probably had no idea that he was "maintaining the Protestant cause on the Continent" in the Seven Years' War (p. 239); the bald statement that English trade unions were legalized in 1824 should be qualified (p. 278); and, finally, the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed in 1839, not 1832 (p. 286).

Having objected to the author's strained interpretation of European history, the reviewer wishes to commend him for stressing the Christian and humanist values of our heritage. In this day, when American colleges are revising their curriculums in order to train young men and women more effectively for life in a free society, this book should be useful to both teachers and students.

*Hendrix College*

W. C. BUTHMAN



## THE RECEPTION OF CALVINISTIC THOUGHT IN ENGLAND. By

*Charles Davis Cremeans.* [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXI, No. 1.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 127. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.)

THIS is a careful essay which students of the Reformation will find useful. The author's object is to explain, first, the teaching and practice of Calvin about the relations between, or rather the interlocking of, ecclesiastical and secular authority in a community and, secondly, what modifications were made in practice in England. Calvin's society was "not an ordinary civil state," but "a community ordered and disciplined according to the laws of God revealed in the Scriptures" and such a community implies, as Calvin says in his letters to Edward VI and the Protector Somerset, the activity of the magistrate, with powers of life and death as well as of discipline under the guidance of the word of God as interpreted by the church. As he succeeded, so far as success is possible, in creating such a society in Geneva, he was in a stronger position than those, inspired by him, in lands where success had to be won, if it could be won, by force, or, as in England, by patience and persuasion. Hence the differences in emphasis found in Scotland on the one hand and in England on the other. Another important fact was the wide reception of Calvinistic theology in England, where, for some time, Calvinists who conformed to the Anglican settlement were numerous and powerful, and, like Archbishop Whitgift, better able to unite the nonconforming Calvinists than other elements who trod the middle way might have been. Calvin himself had hoped to see changes within the Anglican tradition and was probably prepared to recognize adaptations of his own system to it. He did not believe in rebellion, still less in regicide. As Hooker's fine eulogy of him shows, Englishmen who understood his early struggles in Geneva could feel much sympathy with Calvin, however much they might differ from some of his teaching. And there was a real divergence between the practical outlook of Cartwright, the leading nonconformist (though *not* in any way a "separatist") in England and the practical outlook of John Knox.

Unfortunately Mr. Cremeans makes no reference to Hooker, except in a casual allusion to the controversy about the mastership of the Temple, and I cannot but feel that this omission points to a serious defect in his book. He has read widely and faithfully, but he never seems to get beneath his texts and modern guides to a realization of Elizabethan England. We see neither the Calvinists nor their fellow countrymen in their live setting. The book does not help us, for example, to consider how or why so many Puritan gentlemen fifty years later were sufficiently well established and resolute to turn Parliament against the king. Mr. Cremeans seems to be interested only in books and ideas. England is otherwise almost a *tabula rasa*. Perhaps his indifference to earlier life and thought gives the clue to this mentality, as when he makes the astonishing statements that "Calvin's real contribution in the field of law was in admitting

a secular basis for the law of the state of nature" (p. 13), and that the reformers "opened the way for the development of equity, law, and actual new legislation, a thing unknown in the Middle Ages" (p. 12). When he speaks of "a mundane law pertaining to secular matters" as a law of nature distinct from the law of God, he seems to separate the jurisdiction of the magistrate from the providence of God in a way that would have shocked the author of the *Institutes* (cf. Book IV, chap. 20) and, on the other hand, to deny the significance of all the ancient and medieval concern for the problems of law and custom, and of tradition and equity, which continued, in so lively a way, in Tudor England.

*Oxford, England*

F. M. POWICKE

QUAKER SOCIAL HISTORY, 1669-1738. By *Arnold Lloyd*. With an Introduction by *Herbert G. Wood*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xv, 207. \$5.00.)

"AN institution," wrote Emerson, "is the lengthened shadow of one man; as . . . Quakerism of [George] Fox." True enough, as such generalizations go, though, like all generalizations, it is also false and misleading. It is the chief virtue of Arnold Lloyd's study—which might more accurately have been called "The Institutional Development of London Yearly Meeting"—that it seeks to test this heroic interpretation of Quaker history against the documentary evidence.

Levying heavily upon the manuscript records of local meetings as well as of the Yearly Meeting itself, Lloyd draws a convincing picture of the developing institutional framework of English Quakerism from the loosely knit but joyous fellowship of the Commonwealth period to the disciplined and sedate organization of Hanoverian times. The institutional development parallels and reflects a transition in the emotional content of Quakerism from enthusiasm to sobriety and in the social standing of Friends from lower-class poverty to upper-middle-class respectability. This change is symbolized by the contrast between the irrepressible plebeian Fox and the proper and prosperous Andrew Pitt of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. The sociologist would describe the shift as one from sect to church. Of this latter change, which was completed in 1737 with the adoption of birthright membership, Lloyd observes philosophically, "We may deplore this as evidence of the triumph of organization over the free activity of the living organism and yet be quite unable to see how else the Quakers could have acted" (p. 43).

It was precisely this development of national organization and rigid discipline that gave Quakerism a survival power not granted to the other sects of Cromwellian England. Emerson was only echoing the judgment of better scholars than he when he gave the credit for all this to George Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement. Arnold Lloyd is able, however, to show conclusively that London Yearly Meeting with subordinate executive agencies was not the product of a single prophet's vision but an instrument forged by many hands in

the hot fires of persecution. He uncovers evidence that others besides Fox—such Friends as Anthony Pearson, Isaac Penington, and Margaret Fell, the founder's wife, for example—had an important hand in the process. He notes moreover that many supposedly distinctive Quaker practices—e.g., marrying simply in the presence of fellow church-members, refusal of tithes, and rejection of legal oaths—were shared with, and perhaps borrowed from, the Baptists and other cognate sects. In this respect the book takes its place as part of the recent movement to whittle down the reputation of Fox as the only begetter of the Society of Friends. This is no doubt salutary, the more so as Lloyd does not write in the spirit of an iconoclast or debunker but freely grants the importance of Fox's shaping hand, calling him "the builder of the Quaker Society" (p. 22).

This book does not supersede but usefully supplements W. C. Braithwaite's magisterial *Second Period of Quakerism*, adding many details and effecting some important changes in emphasis as a result of the author's extensive use of meeting records. It deals most satisfactorily with such topics as the administration of poor relief, the supervision of the Quaker press, the growth of the Meeting for Sufferings as the "executive branch" of the Yearly Meeting, and the distinctive Quaker efforts to solve the perennial problem of individual freedom versus the authority of the group. Written in a spare but workmanlike style, distinguished by objectivity and thorough scholarship, and marred only slightly by a tendency to claim novelty for findings that are not wholly new, Dr. Lloyd's study may be added to the small shelf of really indispensable books on the history of early Quakerism.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

BERMUDA IN THE OLD EMPIRE: A HISTORY OF THE ISLAND FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOMERS ISLAND COMPANY UNTIL THE END OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1684-1784. By Henry C. Wilkinson. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 457. \$6.00.)

THE author of this fascinating volume is a distinguished Bermudian physician (B.A. Yale, M.D. Columbia) who has become the colony's historian through avocation. His indefatigable quest for source material has made him a familiar figure in archival repositories and in professional historical circles, where he is held in the highest esteem. An earlier monograph, *The Adventurers of Bermuda* (1933), dealt with events to 1684, when the corporation chartered to develop the Somers Isles was dissolved by legal action. The present study is a companion piece continuing the story through the American Revolution and the subsequent departure of Loyalist refugees in quest of greener pastures. Like its predecessor, it is written in charming fashion and meets the highest standards of craftsmanship.

The two volumes constitute incomparably the best history of the islands extant and a third, embracing the more recent period, would be widely welcomed. Of greater significance, they comprise a superb case study in early colonial administration. Virtually every imperial problem confronting the British during the emergence of their first empire arose in this tiny dependency. As one of Britain's oldest possessions, it served as a colonial laboratory and a study of action there affords fuller understanding of forces at play upon the larger continental American scene.

The book rests upon an impressive bibliography strong in primary material and including a wide range of documents in the islands, England, and the United States. Those in Bermuda constitute an interesting group and appear to be used here for the first time. Most documents are meticulously listed, but interested readers will wish to know what "Additional Manuscripts" in the British Museum and Fulham Palace collections have been drawn on. Secondary works have been judiciously selected and nothing of moment has been overlooked.

The interest of the casual reader will be caught by the sections on contemporary society, low living costs, tales of piracy and privateering, the ravages of disease, smuggling operations, Spanish depredations, the Negro problem, insular sports and amusements, the high price of books, educational opportunities, the poor training of local-born officials, and the Stamp Act's impact upon the Bermudian community.

Students of colonial problems, on the other hand, will be especially drawn by the pages on imperial defense, deforestation, the conflict between Governor Robinson and Chief Justice Hordensnell, the sale of crown lands, currency problems, the assembly's assertion of its rights, questions attending the franchise, Prize Court affairs, salt-raking operations, economic ups and downs, evidences of slavery's uneconomic nature, and transportation facilities. The multiplicity of subjects crowding fourteen chapters affords constant surprise and the careful documentation at all points evokes keen approbation.

There are twenty well-chosen plates which contribute materially to the reader's interest. These include an early map (1738) and portraits of various governors and insular dignitaries together with paintings of historic residences, churches, and sloops with local associations, most of which have not been reproduced heretofore. Tracking them down must have been an exhilarating experience and fellow researchers will wish the author well in his quest for three more known to exist but not as yet located.

Appendixes include lists of officials with their terms of office. The index, happily, is American rather than British in its scope.

*Ohio State University*

LOWELL RAGATZ

A HISTORY OF MODERN WALES. By *David Williams*. (London: John Murray. 1950. Pp. 308. 12s. 6d.)

PROFESSOR David Williams is already known to readers of the *American Historical Review* for his article on "John Evans' Strange Journey," in the 1949 volume, and to American students of nineteenth century British history for his life of John Frost, perhaps the most notable contribution made in recent years to the study of Chartism. In the present volume he presents what is likely long to remain an authoritative account of the development of a small nation which, besides forming and guarding its own culture at home, has seen many inheritors of that culture play an honorable, and sometimes a distinguished, part in the history of other nations. American readers wishing to understand the background of such men as Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, John Miles, the founder of Swanzey, Massachusetts, Thomas Lloyd, Penn's deputy governor, and David Thomas, "father of the American anthracite iron industry," can have no better guide than this book.

In two introductory chapters the author sketches the developments of a period on which there is still much work to be done, namely, the two centuries and a half following the event with which Sir John Lloyd closed his monumental history, the fall of the independent principate. The national *amour propre* was restored, after the failure of Owain Glyndwr in the early fifteenth century, when a Welshman seized the English crown on Bosworth Field; but the modern history of Wales begins not with that victory, occurring at a time when Wales and the Marches were still isolated and separate, but with the union of England and Wales by legislation between 1536 and 1542. In recent years some Welshmen have considered that achievement as calamitous in its consequences, much as some Scots have regarded its successor in 1707 and as southern Irishmen have hated the Union of 1801; but Professor Williams, though, like other Welsh-speaking Welshmen, he has a deep affection for the culture of his people, is too good a scholar to be satisfied with an over-simple or merely nationalist view of that and other political changes. The four centuries which followed showed that, whatever degree of autonomy might be necessary or realizable in administration, Wales and England, like Cornwall and England or Brittany and France, must in the end be knit together by the ineluctable influences of geography and economic activity.

Accordingly we have here a study of national consciousness developing partly under the impulse of native capacities and partly through the stimulus of English influences. The Reformation, for instance, came to Wales from outside, and so did the old Dissent and eighteenth century Methodism; but, alien as they might be in origin, they gave rise to Bishop Morgan's Welsh Bible and the hymns of Williams of Pantycelyn, forces which at the same time preserved and refined the native language and culture. Similarly, without English capital, technicians, and workmen the Welsh iron and steel and coal industries could not have been developed; and though the process meant the defiling of many green valleys and brought with it suffering and acute social conflicts, it made possible a great

growth of population and, at least at times, an increase of employment and prosperity in Wales. Such things as these are the stuff of Welsh history, of which the bustle of Cardiff and the nineteenth century filth of Merthyr Tydfil are as real a part as the rural peace and poetry of Gwynedd.

It is, of course, possible to differ, as the present reviewer sometimes does, from Professor Williams on points of detail, and to regret that by doing without footnotes he sacrifices opportunities to give exact references for some conclusions of great interest; but no student of Welsh history can fail to recognize his wide learning and his sensitivity and fairness in judgment. The style is in general clear and the prose very easy to read.

*University of Sheffield*

G. P. JONES

CAPITALISM AND FRENCH GLASSMAKING, 1640-1789. By *Warren C. Scoville*. [University of California Publications in Economics, Volume XV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 210. \$2.50.)

As Professor Scoville points out in his preface, a major obstacle to the study of French economic history of the eighteenth century is the lack of competent monographs on specific industries. The present study of French glassmaking should eliminate that problem in one case at least.

The volume begins by surveying the separate branches of the glass industry, with particular emphasis on differences of structure and growth, ranging from the static, relatively primitive common-glass furnaces scattered throughout France to the localized, highly organized dark-bottle and plate-glass plants. After a brief analysis of techniques and their evolution, the author considers the basic factors conditioning the growth of the industry as a whole: raw materials, labor, distribution and the market, and government policy. He finds that on the whole Colbertist regulation slowed development, and that expansion after about 1720 owed much to the liberalization of state policy. An examination of capitalist tendencies and characteristics within the industry follows, and a summary rounds out the story.

As a careful, thorough presentation of the facts, the book is excellent. This is all the more remarkable in view of the topic, which does not lend itself to easy research. The sources are scattered all over France, in departmental archives, provincial libraries, private collections—the author had access to the invaluable records of Saint-Gobain, formerly the Royal Plate Glass Company—and so on. From this standpoint, Professor Scoville's achievement is exceptional, not only for a visiting scholar but by any standard.

The only serious objection that might be made to the book is that it is too factual, too coldly impersonal. Professor Scoville refers often to the *gentilshommes verriers*, for example, and in his study of labor, he gives a colorful picture of these noble craftsmen. But of the wider social implications of their caste position



and its influence on their role as entrepreneurs—for not all were workers—there is little besides the tantalizing statement that progress was slow in the Norman crown-glass industry because it was in the hands of only four families (p. 133).

Indeed, the author gives little attention to the whole problem of capital and entrepreneurship. The newer, bourgeois variety is dismissed in two paragraphs (pp. 167 f.), and the “conservative financial and business policy” of the Royal Plate Glass Company is relegated to scattered and often inadequate references (pp. 29-30, 33, 34 n. 17 and 22, 143-44, 153). If Professor Scoville’s materials are any indication, the sort of thing done by Bertrand Gille for the iron industry during this same period could certainly have been done here as well. This shortcoming is especially surprising from the pen of a historian whose study of the industrial revolution in the American glass industry placed so much emphasis on the men involved, and who, in this case, chose “capitalism” as the first word of his title.

In general, however, the book is an exceptionally solid monograph, indeed one of the best in the field of French industrial history. Except for some hesitant references to the debatable profit-inflation thesis toward the very end (pp. 168 f.), Scoville sticks to glass with notable felicity. His statements are superbly documented, his conclusions moderate and judicious, and his speculations are kept within bounds and labeled as such. To be sure, the very compactness of the presentation does not make for easy reading, but the rewards more than repay the effort.

*Harvard University*

DAVID S. LANDES

THE SIEGE OF PARIS, 1870-1871: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Melvin Kranzberg*, Amherst College. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 213. \$2.75.)

LA DÉFENSE NATIONALE, 1870-1871. By *Jacques Desmarest*. (Paris: Flammarion. 1949. Pp. 478. 550 fr.)

THE revolution of September 4, 1870, the frustrating five months during which the new French Republic carried on the struggle against Prussia, and the bloody tragedy of the Commune which followed have never quite managed to settle comfortably into scholarly history. Like that which followed 1789, the period has retained a turbulent aura of political partisanship. But, because of its significance in Marxist history, the Commune has recently received far more attention than has the government of national defense which preceded and prepared the way for it. Therefore the advent of two new studies of the latter is an event of consequence.

Despite the difference in scope implicit in their titles, the two books are complementary. M. Desmarest’s is a full-scale treatment of the diplomatic, military, and political trials and tribulations of that sadly incompetent govern-

ment within Paris and its more heroic delegation under Gambetta in the provinces. He justifies his study on the grounds that there exists no complete and impartial work on either the government or its delegation—a statement which hardly seems fair in view of the works, not mentioned in the bibliography, of Georges Duveau on Paris and J. P. T. Bury on the war in the provinces. Mr. Kranzberg, limiting himself to Paris, is less interested in government and high command than in giving a picture of the physical and spiritual impact of the siege on the people. *La Défense nationale* looks back to the Second Empire for an explanation of the policy, or the lack of it, of the men of the government. *The Siege of Paris* looks forward, and the author writes of the causal relationship between this period and the Commune to come. Mr. Kranzberg views it as a time of preparation in which tempers were sharpened and classes divided.

Perhaps it is indicative of the state of mind of those who are not politicians in France that M. Desmarest, an economic adviser for Air France, is interested in recounting history for its own sake. His is the most complete and unbiased study of this difficult and debatable period. Nevertheless, his book leaves some things to be desired. For one thing, he makes no attempt to analyze the economic conduct of the war. For another, he uses so few German sources (and no English ones) that one has the feeling on occasion that the war was fought in a vacuum, and that the French were defeated by bad luck rather than by a superior German army. Furthermore M. Desmarest has lost much, I think, by not using the contemporary newspapers which, particularly in this period, are needed to correct biased afterthought. Finally, the role which Freycinet played in the war in the provinces is not given sufficient recognition. Yet the book is written with great care. It is sober, detailed, readable, and clear.

Mr. Kranzberg has written an interesting, and entertaining, piece of social history. Indeed, in view of the inherent tragedy of his subject, his treatment may seem to many, as it did to me, to be lacking in sympathy. In an extensive bibliography the author shows that he is acquainted with the bulk of the primary material on his subject. He is particularly to be commended for his use of the contemporary press and much pamphlet literature. Neither he nor M. Desmarest has made full use of secondary, but valuable, biographical material.

It is Mr. Kranzberg's contention that the uprisings in Paris during the siege, especially those of October 31 and January 22, were patriotic rather than socialist. "The lower classes were not so interested in a revolutionary organization of society," he writes (p. 163), "as they were in defeating the Prussians." With this well-worn aphorism neither M. Desmarest nor any noncommunist would disagree. But the author has erred, in my opinion, in underestimating the part played by social grievances in these uprisings. Their inspiration, the legend of 1793, was not just military and political. It had social connotations as well. Therefore the radicals during the siege of Paris demanded that the social legislation of 1793 be re-enacted as a necessary concomitant of victory, just as they demanded the *levée en masse*.

too familiar passion of dedicated scholars for an exhaustive thoroughness, he is prompted to disinter every writer, composer, and painter who ever stalked across the German scene and to clutter his pages with their forgotten names and negligible achievements.

Long before the reader has come to the end of the book he realizes that it is not only the faulty attack along two separate lines of approach but also the excessively professional scholarship that explains why the unity indispensable to every work of art has not been attained. It is saying the same thing with a somewhat different emphasis to state that the author is either unwilling or unable to practice the necessary self-limitation of the artist. The ultimate test of a good history, as of a worth-while literary work of any kind, is whether its perusal affords unbroken aesthetic satisfaction. Since this is true in the present case of at best only selected sections, it would seem proper, rather than to rank the work as a history, to assign it the role of a general reference volume, a novel kind of encyclopedia covering every phase of German development through two thousand years. This useful handbook service is furthered by an assortment of excellent maps and a set of unusual illustrations.

*Michigan City, Indiana*

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

REHEARSAL FOR DESTRUCTION: A STUDY OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM IN IMPERIAL GERMANY. By *Paul W. Massing*. [Studies in Prejudice, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, Social Studies Series: Publication II.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1949. Pp. xviii, 341. \$4.00.)

THIS volume is one of a series of five entitled "Studies in Prejudice." It is sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and attempts a systematic scholarly exploration of the social and psychological roots of racial and other social prejudice. Four of this series are primarily sociological and psychological studies by experts in those fields. One deals with American veterans, another with American agitators, a third with the case histories of individuals who have undergone intensive psychoanalysis. This is the only volume of the series thus far which deals with history or attempts the historical approach and the only one dealing with Germany. Its author writes as a member of the Institute of Social Research, New York City. Not a Jew, he is also not a professional historian but a lecturer in sociology at Rutgers University. As a native German and long resident in Germany, he had first-hand experience on the scene but has not emphasized in this volume personal information or reactions.

The book attempts a dispassionate and impartial narrative of the main aspects of anti-Semitism in imperial Germany from 1871 to 1914. It stresses "problems of power, group privileges and group antagonisms," and particularly the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon by political parties, religious

and professional organizations, the government and the opposition. No comprehensive treatment of the period has been made and much of the political, intellectual, and economic life of Germany the author frankly confesses he has omitted. Anti-Semitism in imperial Germany he finds was in large measure the result of intentional and calculated political and religious propaganda and in part "a confused expression of social protest," as it had been, he declares, in the earlier nineteenth century. Organized anti-Semitism was on the decline in imperial Germany down to the First World War; the anti-Semitic parties as such never attained major status as political parties; he feels that the use of anti-Semitism by the normal political and religious groups was of far greater importance. But racial ideology was formulated long before the Nazi ideology and the way was thus paved for "the political alliance of social forces that proved fatal to the German Republic and disastrous to the world."

One can only welcome all efforts to apply modern scholarly techniques to great problems of the past and of the future. Studies of history by scholars trained in other social sciences should also be welcome. While it does seem true that this volume was written with a purpose, an honest effort has been made to study and write the narrative of anti-Semitism in imperial Germany. In a mere 190 pages of text there was not enough space for all the familiar facts and less for new ones. Judging from the sixty pages of notes separately printed after the text, only printed sources and secondary works were used and experts will miss many titles they will deem important. Much of the information in the notes is so familiar that the presumption must be that the volume is intended for the general reader. Certainly little in it will be of use to specialists. So of the fifty pages of documents. However for the general reader the volume may well possess real value. Moreover, the comprehensive character and serious purpose of the series to which it belongs, the organizations which sponsor it, give it and other volumes in the series a certain scholarly importance and value.

*Washington University, St. Louis*

ROLAND G. USHER

**BÖHMISCHE TRAGÖDIE: DAS SCHICKSAL MITTELEUROPAS IM LICHT DER TSCHECHISCHEN FRAGE.** By *Hermann Münch*. (Brunswick, Germany: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1949. Pp. 803. Cloth DM 36,00, paper DM 32,50.)

It is an unusual task to review a book on modern Czech history, published in Germany and running into eight hundred pages. As its title is rather vague, it is perhaps advisable to say right at the beginning that neither the dismemberment of Bohemia after Munich nor the Communist coup in Prague has been the object of the author's studies. His book is an honest attempt to analyze the internal problems of Bohemia during the nineteenth and early twentieth century and to sketch, in connection with the main theme, the progress of disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The author, who is today in his middle sixties, does not claim to be a trained historian. His biography of Adolph von Hansemann, published in 1932, revealed a thorough knowledge of the German banking system during Hansemann's lifetime. Dr. Münch tells us in the preface to the *Böhmische Tragödie* that, for more than twenty years, he had personal contacts with leading economists in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. As he has dedicated the book under review to his Czech friends, we may assume that relations with his Czech partners in various business transactions were more cordial and more frequent than his trips to either Vienna or Budapest.

To do justice to the author we must treat his work not as a product of professional scholarship but as a historico-political treatise on the Czech-German problem in its acute phase, from 1848 to 1918. The book opens with a sketch of the earlier history of the Czechs and with some general observations on the perennial antagonism between the Germans and their Slavic neighbors, but more than three fourths of the text has been reserved for the period of constitutional struggles prior to the First World War. In connection with the specific Czech problem Dr. Münch analyzes conditions in the dual monarchy, focusing attention on the advocates of co-operation between the Danubian peoples.

There is a distinct but unobtrusive undertone in Dr. Münch's presentation of the pertinent problems: a nostalgia originating in the realization of how many traditional links were destroyed by excessive nationalism and how severe were the losses the peoples of Central Europe suffered when passions were unleashed and emotional factors triumphed over moderation and political wisdom. The author portrays several Czech political leaders and underlines their desire to save the multinational empire as a strong and economically balanced unit by federalization along ethnical lines. Karel Havlíček, František L. Rieger, loyally supporting František Palacký, stand in the forefront. Dr. Münch presents them as political realists who were well aware of the precarious geographical position of the Czech national territory, endangered on the one hand by the Prussian expansive policy and by the tsarist designs on the other. A portrait of Karel Kramář (1860-1937) has been drawn by the author's firm hand in contrast to Thomas G. Masaryk, who figures in the book as the spiritual heir to Palacký and, for at least two decades, as an ardent champion of a progressive and federal Austria.

It is to be regretted that, while in Bohemia, Dr. Münch did not consult some Czech publications on the period of national and constitutional struggles. There are several Czech titles in his bibliography, but it seems almost incredible that none of Dr. Münch's Czech friends called his attention to Z. V. Tobolka's *Politické dějiny československého národa*, treating in four volumes of almost two thousand pages the political history of the Czechs and Slovaks from 1848 to 1918. It would be easy to quote many other books which, if used, would have made the author's argument more convincing. But suffice it to say that the *Böhmische Tragödie* was written in a period of storm and upheaval and that

hardly any German library possesses such a rich collection of books in Czech as either the New York Public Library or the Widener Library.

The appearance of such a book as the *Böhmische Tragödie* is in itself an event of significance, for it is the first postwar publication which presents fairly the Czech point of view in the age-long controversy. The publisher was very generous in accepting for publication the manuscript as it came from the author's pen, with long quotations from the writings and speeches of the Czech leading figures and with marginal passages devoted both to the Magyar policy and the Southern Slav struggle for national union. It is a relief to turn from the many tendentious presentations of Central Europe which fill the shelves as reminders of the Nazi era to this well-produced and soundly balanced volume.

Columbia University

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF RUSSIA TO THE 1917 REVOLUTION. By *Peter I. Lyashchenko*. Translated by *L. M. Herman*. Introduction by *Calvin B. Hoover*. [American Council of Learned Societies, Russian Translation Project.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 880. \$13.00.)

In an aberrated world of global "cold wars" and local "hot wars," Russians and Americans alike, in their contemplation of one another's words and deeds, are constrained by the duties of tribal self-adoration to invert the ancient Chinese injunction to "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil." Those among us who still venture to perceive any good in anything of Russian origin are *ipso facto* suspect of being "un-American." The reception accorded to the present work in some of our scholarly journals offers fresh testimony of this attitude, though new proof is scarcely needed. What is needed is evidence that American academicians, and American policy-makers, are as capable of learning from Russians as their Soviet counterparts are of learning from Americans. To be against sin is not enough. Such evidence, unhappily, is in most instances conspicuous by its absence.

These considerations render it impossible to summarize or evaluate the book here in hand without writing a long essay on (a) Russian economic history; (b) Marxist and non-Marxist interpretations of Russian economic history; (c) political control of social and economic science in the USSR; (d) social and economic control of political science in the USA; and (e) American interpretations of Russian interpretations of Russian economic history. May the reader be spared! Suffice it to display here only bare bones. For the flesh and blood, interested scholars are advised to read this volume—if they have thirteen dollars or access to a good library.

Lyashchenko, now seventy-four years of age, is a distinguished authority on Russian rural economy. In tsarist times he taught at the University of St. Petersburg and the University of Tomsk. He has also held posts at the First Moscow



State University and the Institute of National Economy. He is a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He is, and has always been, a Marxist—now of the Leninist-Stalinist genus.

His most important book is here presented by the American publishers, accurately enough, as “the first work in any language that covers the economic history of Russia from earliest time down to 1917.” It is a standard text in Soviet institutions of higher learning. The first two editions appeared, respectively, in 1926 and 1930. It is the 1939 edition which is here translated. An enlarged two-volume edition, commented upon briefly by the translator, was issued in 1947–48.

Whatever merits or defects these other versions may possess (I have not seen them), this translation of the third edition makes available to American readers the most complete and authoritative single work on the historical development of the Russian economy as seen through the eyes of a careful, analytical, Marxist scholar who, needless to say, is completely loyal to the present inmates of the Kremlin. The first twenty-one chapters, to page 403, deal with the periods from paleolithic tribal society to the emancipation of the serfs. The remaining sixteen chapters survey industrial capitalism, the economic history of the frontier peoples, and twentieth century Russian imperialism. There are twenty-one maps, a chronology, elaborate bibliographies, a good index, many statistical tables, and a vast wealth of data, thoughtfully presented, which is nowhere else to be had.

Whether the result is “truth” or “propaganda” let the ideological cold-warriors on both sides debate to the end of time—or until the political lunacy now characterizing Soviet-American relations is either cured or blows us all to kingdom come. American students of Russia should in any case welcome this solidly factual work which illumines many hitherto dark corners and misty crossroads along the time-track of the Muscovite community. No other study, comparable in wide scope and meticulous detail, is likely to appear in this field for many a year in either Russia or America. The jacket blurb asserts that “it is only from books written by Russians and for Russian readers that Americans can obtain an adequate understanding” of Russia. Desire for comprehension is currently attenuated by the roar of battle. But if understanding (in both senses of the word) is still possible, then the translation and publication in America of such a work as this should contribute mightily toward its attainment.

*Williams College*

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

## Far Eastern History

THE SIBERIAN INTERVENTION. By *John Albert White*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 471. \$6.00.)

JOHN Albert White, who teaches at the University of Hawaii, was enabled

by a grant of funds from the Rockefeller Foundation to make a study "of many months" of "a period and an area which has hitherto either been totally neglected or described either in purely partisan or specialized accounts." This Mr. White says in his preface to *The Siberian Intervention*, a careful and honest piece of research in which the author has avoided biases and preachments as much, perhaps, as anyone could.

The book goes, as it should, into some of the background of the Siberian intervention, the First World War, the collapse of tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik revolution, the Japanese participation in the war, the American effort to "contain" Japan, and other matters that played a part in the strange adventure that proved not only useless but actually harmful to relations among the powers then great. Here are two of the harmful effects that stand out: It helped to increase the dislikes and distrusts growing up between Japanese and Americans; and it gave a lasting reason for the Soviet leaders to say that the "capitalist" nations had tried to destroy their "liberation" of the Russian people—though this was by no means the American purpose.

Incidentally, among the many books Mr. White has read for his study is one by a man with the same name in full as this reviewer, a man who is also of the same age, and was, likewise, a newspaper correspondent in eastern Asia. It was an exceptional and often confusing coincidence. But the other Frederick Ferdinand Moore differed from the reviewer in taking more or less the conventional American attitude of the time, in opposition to the Japanese, while I, unable to see evil in all their works and wisdom in all of ours, was peculiar among my fellow countrymen.

Mr. White records the era of our American opposition to Japan, of which Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under President Wilson, was a leader in a strategic position, setting much of the tone that Americans took. Now our attitude has changed. It has changed again. We have gone back to our first support of the Japanese in opposition to Russia. We supported them ardently in their war of 1904 against tsarist Russia. Now, having deprived them of the means of defending themselves, we are maintaining naval and air bases on their islands, with a view to defending them against possible attack by Soviet Russia.

The book is not, of course, "up to date." But it makes no claim to that. It is a historical record. And as such it shows the reader who knows what has subsequently happened how statesmen, those of any and all nations, make blunders. We thought we were doing well in stopping Japan in eastern Siberia. Now we find Russia aggressing from there, down into Manchuria, Korea, China, and maybe farther, which leads to the thought that if statesmen had more time to study the past they might be better qualified to anticipate the future.

*Washington, D. C.*

FREDERICK F. MOORE

HUMAN BONDAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Bruno Lasker*. [Published under the Auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. 406. \$6.00.)

BRUNO Lasker, a long-time student of social conditions in Southeast Asia, has here brought together a vast amount of material dealing with the lack of freedom endured by the people of that area through the ages. He deals with evidences of slavery, serfdom, peonage, debt bondage, and forced labor in aboriginal times and under white control.

Despite its comprehensive coverage of bondage, the title of the volume is rather unfortunate since it gives little hint of the important implications of this study. A brief résumé will indicate its real importance for an understanding of events now taking place.

Memories of colonial exploitation—some old, some recent—stir the peoples of Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, and Indochina against the rule of the whites. Even the widespread reforms of recent years are outweighed in many areas by the failure to settle agrarian problems. In these lands the economy is so geared to export industries and interests of the employer that the income of the wage earners is close to or below an adequate subsistence level. Disguised under various titles, a system of peonage still exists, even in the Philippines. For four hundred years the hacienda system has been the cause of frequent revolts and will continue to be until the peasants obtain “the freedom and opportunities for which they had fought so valiantly.”

In Burma the desire for cheap labor led to wholesale importation of Indian workers and barred the Burmese from many fields. It required an almost revolutionary nationalist movement to effect a change and to protect the peasant from Indian money-lenders.

Better conditions have existed in Malaya, but even there a long history of discontent, a desire for liberation from industrialism and foreign domination have provided ideal conditions for the infiltration of Chinese Communists.

In Siam the tradition of slavery and serfdom, of class differences and disdain for the laborers, has left resentments which plague the postwar regime.

French rule has been characterized by concern for low cost production of export commodities. This has meant contract labor and penal sanctions for breaking of contracts. The resultant social maladjustments have been exploited by the revolutionary elements of Annam, by the Japanese, and today by the Viet Nam Independence party.

It is of importance for us in the West to realize that the unrest in Southeast Asia is not all due to agitation originating in Moscow. The heritage of servitude, peonage, exploitation, lack of concern for individual rights, the inability of workers to live a worth-while existence, raise problems which must be wisely and quickly met if disaster is to be averted.

In the opinion of this reviewer, this is the best of Mr. Lasker's several volumes on Southeast Asia. It gets below the surface and probes into causes and origins.

*University of Chicago*

FAY-COOPER COLE

## American History

THE COLONIAL CRAFTSMAN. By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.] (New York: New York University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 214. \$4.25.)

CARL Bridenbaugh's most recent book, originally prepared for the Anson G. Phelps lecture series, is a mature study of the role of the artisan in early United States history. In this attractive little volume the former director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, has attempted to rescue the colonial craftsman from the hands of the local antiquarian. Rejecting the traditional approach of concentrating on a single trade, a prominent artisan, or a collection of time-worn antiques, the author boldly surveys our early domestic craftsmanship in terms of working conditions, industrial development, and varying social problems. Genealogical information about individual workmen is mercifully reduced to a minimum. Throughout the book the biographical sketches are placed in their proper perspective as illustrative details which clarify the author's generalizations. Thus John Lamb, the New York instrument maker and wine merchant who served as a brigadier general during the American Revolution, is cited to illustrate partial opportunities for social advancement in the colonial class structure.

In concise, well-written chapters the author compares the various geographical regions. Dr. Bridenbaugh's discussion of the rural South calls attention to the early relationship between the handicrafts and the agrarian system. "Nearly all craftsmen," he reports, "were inexorably drawn into planting or farming, because they could not gain a living from their trades." Although the small villages of New England were basically farming communities, they were not so isolated as the South and usually managed to attract a small coterie of artisans. Nevertheless, it was in the seaboard cities—especially in the middle Atlantic belt—that "colonial craftsmanship came into full bloom." At times the author dons the garb of the iconoclast, providing examples of fraudulent and inferior workmanship that shatter some popular stereotypes about the alleged superiority of handmade design and construction. His concluding chapter, entitled "The Craftsman as a Citizen," contains a useful account of the political and economic aspirations and the lobbying techniques of the "mechanicks."

Those flaws which are present in the book stem largely from the original format. Dr. Bridenbaugh's desire to publish his chapters exactly as they were written for oral delivery sometimes results in excessive brevity. In view of the

author's rich experience with early newspaper files, one regrets his reluctance to provide a fuller analysis of colonial advertising techniques. A few questionable statements have crept into the manuscript. In one place (p. 149) the author states that "to forestall competition from untrained Charles Willson Peale at Annapolis in 1768, William Knapp announced that he had just acquired a completely new apparatus for use in his trade of watchmaking and repairing." It is doubtful that the advertisement was inserted primarily as a means of preventing competition from Peale, since the latter, by the author's own admission in another part of the book, had been in England since 1766 and did not return to Annapolis until June, 1769. A careful reading of local indenture contracts, deposited in Southern county court houses and state archives, would have precluded the assertion that "the apprentice system was negligible in the South, save in the case of orphans" (p. 30). Poor, illegitimate, and mulatto children were regularly bound out by the courts.

In general, however, the volume shows distinct merit as a compact summary of a very important phase of early American labor and industry.

*Long Island University*

LEONARD PRICE STAVISKY

RECORDS OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1671-1779. Edited by *Anne King Gregorie*. With an Introduction by *J. Nelson Frierson*, Dean Emeritus, University of South Carolina Law School. [American Legal Records, Volume VI.] (Washington: American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. 676. \$10.00.)

In 1817 Henry William Desaussure, senior judge of the Court of Equity of South Carolina, published a volume of South Carolina chancery cases for the period 1784-1813. In a note to an introduction he wrote:

A Court of Chancery appears to have existed in this State, very early after the settlement of the colony. There are distinct traces of it under the proprietary government—and soon after the royal government superseded the proprietary, the Court of Chancery was regularly established, and endued with the powers of the Court of Chancery in England. The court was composed of the governor and council, who dispensed this branch of justice. It could not be expected that a court so constituted could have been celebrated for its learning or legal judgment. Governors appointed for their military skill, or their parliamentary connections, and a council composed generally of private and unlearned men, could not be expected to be eminent judges. The effect was natural. Little confidence was reposed in their judgment, and no valuable decrees are recorded which illustrate the science, or furnish lights to guide succeeding times.

The "aim and design" of the present volume, according to Dean Frierson, is to give as full information as possible concerning the work of the court during the period referred to by Judge Desaussure. After reviewing the cases appearing

in the fragmentary records for the period 1671-1720, and calling attention to the records of the later cases (1721-79), Dean Frierson concludes: "Chancellor Desaussure's appraisal of the court of chancery, as it functioned under the lords proprietors and later under the royal government, appears to have been a just one, as no valuable decrees have been found recorded in the minutes which illustrate the science of equity or which furnish lights to guide succeeding times." While this conclusion will be disappointing to persons interested in American legal history, it must be recognized that the presently published records are of real importance in that they fill in one of the many blanks which unfortunately appear in our picture of colonial justice. The general historian and biographer will find much of interest. The records appear to have been carefully edited, and are accompanied by many useful biographical notes. The index is of value to the genealogist, but of little value to the legal historian. The volume should have contained a calendar of cases, indicating the nature of each case, as well as a subject index. On the whole, however, the work has been well done. The product is a welcome addition to our slowly growing body of published legal records.

*University of Michigan*

WILLIAM WIRT BLUME

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S LETTERS TO THE PRESS, 1758-1775. Collected and Edited by *Verner W. Crane*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1950. Pp. lxxv, 308. \$6.00.)

THIS collection of anonymous letters, by which Benjamin Franklin sought to influence public opinion in England and America, could have been gathered only by enormous labor coupled with erudition and insight. Professor Crane has sifted the newspapers, English and American, of the pre-Revolutionary period and has extracted every item that bears the marks of Franklin's authorship. The result is some ninety pieces hitherto unrecognized as Franklin's and a great deal of new bibliographical information about those which are already a standard part of his writings. Professor Crane modestly observes that a wider search might discover other items, but it is unlikely that anyone with the necessary scholarly equipment will again undertake the task which for Professor Crane has evidently been a labor of love, nor does it seem likely that Crane has missed very much.

The new pieces vary a great deal in length and importance. Had they been written by a lesser man in a less important cause, they would scarcely have been worthy of the exhaustive study which they have here received. Since they were written by Benjamin Franklin in the cause of the American colonies, they have been well worth the effort, not only because everything that Franklin wrote has a special wit and style but also because what he wrote for the newspapers affected more than a little the train of events that led up to the American Revolution. Most of the letters collected here fall within the decade 1765-1775, when Franklin



was the center of pro-American activities in England. These letters reveal for the first time how industriously he used his pen in the interests of his countrymen. They reveal also a full picture of his methods as a propagandist. Here are the familiar irony and shrewdness, employed now from this angle, now from that, as Franklin took advantage of journalistic anonymity to appeal to the interests of various groups. He appears as a London merchant, as a visiting American, as a gentleman from France, deftly pointing out the absurdities or the inconsistencies or the injustice of the British attempts to tax the colonies.

Unfortunately the bulk of Franklin's performance was so great that it has been possible to include only those items which have not been adequately reprinted in the Smyth edition. For the items which have been omitted, however, Professor Crane has supplied introductions. These alone will make the volume an indispensable companion to Smyth, for Crane has uncovered new facts about almost every letter that Franklin published and even about some that he did not publish. One of the most valuable parts of the book is the reconstruction of a pamphlet against the Stamp Act which Franklin projected but never completed (he communicated parts of it from time to time in letters to the press). The pamphlet as reconstructed gives a clearer picture of Franklin's attitude to the Stamp Act than has hitherto been available. This is only one of the new perspectives which the book offers: bibliographers will be interested by the location of the first printings of some of Franklin's most famous pieces, such as the "Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One"; historians will find this and other documents placed in their proper setting as parts of an extended campaign in favor of the colonies; admirers of Franklin as a writer will discover the origins of some of his best witticisms. Who, for example, would have supposed that the delightful remarks on whales ascending Niagara Falls were actually prompted by a newspaper report that a whale fishery was to be established on the Great Lakes?

Besides the prefatory notes to the individual documents, Professor Crane has contributed a general introduction (preliminary to a separate full-length study) giving the political and journalistic background for the letters and sketching in Franklin's part in Anglo-American relations during the period covered. The book is well designed and printed; there is a good index; and the footnotes are where they belong.

*Brown University*

EDMUND S. MORGAN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND CATHARINE RAY GREENE: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE, 1755-1790. Edited and annotated by *William Greene Roelker*, Director, Rhode Island Historical Society. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XXVI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1949. Pp. ix, 147. \$3.00.)

WILLIAM Greene Roelker, a direct descendant of Catharine Ray Greene, acquired the Franklin-Greene correspondence for the American Philosophical Society Library and prepared from that correspondence this collection of letters. Some of the items have been published in the standard collections of Franklin's works. Many of the letters here printed which were written to Franklin have never before been published; these constitute the principal original contribution of the volume to the student. The larger part of the letters gives an insight into the intimate friendship of Benjamin Franklin, Catharine Ray Greene, and Jane Franklin Mecom (Franklin's sister), a friendship beginning in 1754 and lasting until the 1790's, closing only with the death of the principals. Thirty-three of the items come from Franklin's pen, twenty-five from that of Catharine Ray Greene, and fifteen from that of Jane Mecom. Catharine's husband wrote five and others wrote a total of six.

The editor prepared a four-and-one-half-page introduction devoted chiefly to identifying and describing Catharine Ray and her family of Block Island and Rhode Island. The volume contains five chapters, three of them include letters from 1754 to 1776; the remaining two chapters—about half the book—include items from 1776 to 1790. Unobtrusively, the compiler has provided introductory paragraphs for each letter; these serve well as a means of integrating the collection and of offering an outline narrative of pertinent events to explain the letters. This collection is a useful one, for the scholar and reader will find not Franklin the statesman, the scientist, the moralist, the military man, or the diplomat, but Franklin the warm-hearted, humane man, loving and being loved by his close friends. The social historian, especially, will find these letters of value, for here are presented everyday facts of existence and comments upon life under the pressure of the breakup of the Old Empire. Franklin, for example, could find time to give advice on affairs of the heart in the midst of his many activities or to mail to Caty from France a recipe for the manufacturing of cheese. One sees, moreover, a simple society, seemingly arcadian in its outlook when viewed from the mid-point of the twentieth century. Husbandman and tradesman, for example, in the form of William Greene, jr., of Rhode Island, and Benjamin Franklin, while pursuing their own work, found time to give amply of their energies not only to the common good, whether the need be military or civil (Catharine's husband became governor of his state), but also to their families and friends.

*Stanford University*

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

FORGOTTEN PATRIOT: ROBERT MORRIS. By *Eleanor Young*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 280. \$4.00.)

IN deploring the obscurity into which Robert Morris has fallen, Miss Young observes that in histories of the United States, only "a single line is sometimes vouchsafed his distinguished services. In our national capital there is not one

memorial to honor him. No stamp issue has made his name and face familiar." He is, in short, a "forgotten patriot," undeservedly neglected by all save a few specialists in economic and financial history.

Miss Young has made a spirited effort to carve out a niche for Robert Morris. In this biography there is no muckraking; indeed, Morris' "simple humanity and inherent nobility" are kept so insistently in the foreground that he emerges as a disinterested, self-sacrificing patriot and as a businessman of spotless integrity. His final downfall is ascribed to his "willingness to trust men, feeling because of his own integrity that others, too, must be essentially honest and trustworthy." Although admitting that in his early career Morris monopolized flour, Miss Young denies that he was guilty of similar offenses during the Revolutionary War. His success in business was owing, as the author sees it, not to smuggling, profiteering, or monopolizing but to "honesty, economy, system, daring, perseverance, and attention to the most minute details." An American boy, aspiring to be a captain of industry, apparently could do no better than to emulate the methods and virtues of this eighteenth century businessman.

It may be objected that Miss Young does not fully explain how Robert Morris became one of the richest men in the United States and how he managed vastly to increase his fortune during the Revolutionary War. Significantly, no mention is made of the advice given by Morris to his business partner at the beginning of the war that "there is plenty of room to make as much money as you please." Also, in enumerating Morris' motives in embarking upon a gigantic speculation in real estate, Miss Young mentions only his "imagination, his optimism, his faith in America, and in the victory of the right"; apparently his avarice and his desire for power were secondary considerations. Indeed, the author finds in all of Morris' undertakings the imprint of his benevolence: "His real estate ventures, like his mercantile business, were not wholly selfish but rather a means toward an end—an altruistic goal of improved conditions for mankind." His plans for the development of the Genesee section of New York State are hailed as "the prototype of Federal Housing developments."

Miss Young has concentrated her efforts upon showing Morris as a devoted and unselfish patriot. He appears as an invincible optimist whose courage never flagged; a businessman always ready to put his wealth at the disposal of the public; the "Host of America" whose hospitality "contributed to the pleasure and profit of the country" ("Diplomats are often influenced more profoundly by social amenities than by political considerations"); the "War Bond salesman *par excellence* of his day"; and the "Trouble Shooter" and "Financial Wizard" who saved the country at the eleventh hour. Miss Young overstates her case, however, when she calls Morris, prior to his appointment as superintendent of finance, the "virtual head of the government," and when she gives Morris credit not only for financing but for planning and inducing Washington to undertake the Yorktown campaign.

Intended for the "ordinary reader," this book abounds in devices for fixing the attention of the casual seeker of information. There is a great deal of imaginary dialogue, of which the following is a typical example:

"'Oh, Robert,' said Washington sadly, 'the country has failed me. If I am not now extricated by you, all is lost.'"

"'You shall be extricated,' Morris replied earnestly. His faith and optimism buoyed the spirits of all."

But Miss Young's favorite method of keeping her readers' interest alive is to make comparisons between the period of the American Revolution and the present. Thus British customs officers who instituted "a far-reaching spy service" become "the F.B.I. of that day"; the committees to fix prices are identified as "the O.P.A. of that day"; the prisons in which the Loyalists were confined are called "concentration camps"; and Robert Morris himself is characterized as "the Grover Whalen of his day." One wonders who was the Senator McCarthy of that day.

Stanford University

JOHN C. MILLER

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume I, 1760-1776. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Associate Editors: Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. lviii, 679. \$10.00.)

SEVEN years have now passed since the celebration in 1943 of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. In that year the Congress of the United States directed the commission previously established to prepare as a congressional memorial a new edition of Jefferson's writings. The Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission was empowered also to employ "an historian"; and to this position was shortly appointed Julian Parks Boyd, since 1940 librarian of the Princeton University Library. At that time Dr. Boyd had completed a book with the title *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text . . .*, which the Library of Congress soon published for its bicentennial celebration. This notable work was followed in a few months by a report to the commission in which Dr. Boyd, as its "historian," set forth in great detail his ideas as to what a new edition of Jefferson's papers should be. For the accomplishment of these plans the sum authorized by Congress was entirely inadequate. But, by reason of a munificent subvention made by the New York Times Company as a memorial to its former publisher, the late Adolph S. Ochs, and through the generous decision of Princeton University to assume the entire expense of publication, the preparation of the new edition was transferred, with the approval of the commission, to Princeton. There Dr. Boyd, later calling to aid him as associate editors Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield and Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, set up what Mr. Butterfield has happily called "the Enterprise at Princeton." For the preparation of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* there was worked out a complete system which was to include, among other aims, the concentration in the form

of photocopies of all accessible Jefferson material and the transcription and editing of texts derived therefrom. The plan called for a wide comprehensiveness in respect to the selection of the documents to be published. The editorial annotation was in general to be restrained, but, for very important documents, "full." The work, it has been announced, will include fifty volumes or more in all, forty to comprise a "series" of letters and papers arranged chronologically, and ten to include matter best arranged by classification, or topically. These, and other aspects of the system, are set forth with clarity in the introductory pages of this volume, an excellent supplement to which one may find in Mr. Butterfield's article, "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson," in the *American Archivist* (XII [1949], 130 ff.).

Any attempt to describe the contents of this first volume must consist chiefly of generalities. For the period 1760–1776 covered by this volume there are three times as many documents as are found in Ford's edition; and practically everything in the earlier edition is included. Because of the fire at Shadwell in 1770, no doubt, the material for the years preceding is scant and not of first importance. The succeeding years through 1773 are represented chiefly by documents which have to do with legal and business matters; but there are exceptions. With 1774, the first place is taken by politics. The great expansion comes in 1775 and 1776; the documents for these two years fill three fifths of the volume. A principal part of the increase stems, of course, from the inclusion of the letters to Jefferson—one of the highest distinctions that attach to the *Papers*. Here are the many letters from George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, John Page, and, in smaller number, from Robert Carter Nicholas and others. New are the notes and comments which Jefferson jotted down on a manuscript copy of Franklin's plan of 1775 for Articles of Confederation, and those relating to Virginia history which he wrote on the printed circular sent to him by Ebenezer Hazard when he asked assistance for his intended "American State Papers." More thoroughly and more profitably than his predecessors Dr. Boyd has swept through the records of the political bodies, both in Virginia and in Philadelphia, of which Jefferson was a member. Particularly rich is the material which illustrates the beginnings of Jefferson's legislative reforms in church and state in Virginia, and his interest in the matter of boundaries and in the working out of changes in the acquisition and tenure of land. Most important of all, as to Virginia, was the part which Jefferson though absent in Philadelphia took in his endeavors to influence the convention which was to frame a new constitution.

Upon Jefferson's terms of service in the Continental Congress, also, additional documents throw more light, revealing particularly his tirelessness in work on committees, some of them on financial affairs, Canada, a seal for the United States, the procedures of Congress itself. Into this volume, the editors remind us, fall some of the most important of Jefferson's writings. Four of these are, in 1775, the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms"; in 1776, the Constitution for Virginia, the Declaration of Independence, and the

narrative which Dr. Boyd calls the "Notes on Proceedings in Congress." The documents, in their ultimate forms, are not new; they are rather battle-scarred veterans of American historiography. Controversies arose while Jefferson and Dickinson and John Adams were still alive, and biographers and historians have debated them ever since. The distinguishing features of Dr. Boyd's editorship are his use of the comparison of texts, and, in the lavish annotation devoted to these most important documents, his effort to present the chief points of controversy, with his own conclusions. In some cases these documents have been the subject of his previous study; his book of 1943, *The Declaration of Independence* mentioned above, he revised in 1945. In 1947 he reported in the *New York Times Magazine* (Apr. 13, pp. 17 ff.) his discovery in the Jefferson papers of a fragment of a draft of the Declaration older than any thus far known. In this present year he has written at length on the Arms Declaration of 1775 (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIV [1950], 51 ff.). One thus understands better the fact that the four documents mentioned above, with the supplementary texts and annotation, fill one fifth of this whole volume.

With regard to the Arms Declaration of 1775 Dr. Boyd holds that both Dickinson and Jefferson were mistaken in the claims which, in their later years, they made as to the authorship of that famous manifesto, and that it was rather their joint product. Of the texts that have to do with the Virginia Constitution the most interesting is the first—that which Jefferson endorsed as his "first ideas" on the subject so dear to him. Dr. Boyd shows that this text, in its original form, was the basis for the preamble to the Virginia Constitution, and also, as later heavily altered and amended by its author, served as a draft for the charges against the crown in the Declaration of Independence. Also, Dr. Boyd presses the point that Jefferson's ideas exerted on the frame of government for Virginia—the Constitution proper—more definite influence than has hitherto been realized. As to the text of the Declaration of Independence, the editor's chief point is the confirmation of his belief that there was a draft—or drafts—before that which Jefferson called his "original Rough draught." As this seems inherently probable, the argument is perhaps a little labored. Dr. Boyd, in this volume, presents photographic facsimiles of the "fragment" mentioned above and of the charges against the crown to which we have referred, together with a "restored" text of the "original Rough draught": but one misses the other fine facsimiles that were included in his *The Declaration of Independence*. Perhaps more of an innovation attaches to the treatment of the Notes. Hitherto always printed with the Autobiography, the manuscript of the Notes has now been lifted out of that of the Autobiography—into which Jefferson himself had inserted it—and put in its proper chronology in 1776. In all previous editions the Autobiography has been printed before the Correspondence; in the *Papers* it is relegated to the second series. The Notes present Jefferson's account of the debates in Congress in the summer of 1776.



Inevitably, in so complicated an editorial undertaking, there will appear some mistakes and some occasions where judgments may differ. Here a word as to "restored" texts may be in order. The attempt to restore a document to its form in successive stages of its evolution is a legitimate and time-honored procedure. Such attempts were made to a degree by Paul Leicester Ford, and, with the help of the "indispensable" textual work of John H. Hazelton (1906), by Professor Carl Becker and by Dr. Boyd. But "restoration" has its pitfalls. One textual inaccuracy appears on page 425—quite certainly a slip in transcription carried over from this restored text in the 1945 edition of *The Declaration of Independence*. Jefferson wrote: "he has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-subjects," not "*in our fellow-subjects*" (italics supplied). Particularly necessary is the accuracy of captions where restorations are involved. On page 423 the caption reads "III. Jefferson's 'original Rough draught' of the Declaration of Independence." The text, however, is not that of the document as Jefferson left it, with those words endorsed. It is the *restored* text, as worked out by Dr. Boyd. Again, in the group relating to the Virginia Constitution, there is found on page 337 the caption "I. First Draft by Jefferson." As to the major portion of the text that follows, the caption is accurate; but not for the first part, the charges against the crown. As to this part, what we have is Dr. Boyd's *restored* text. The status of the text is explained, let me add, in both cases by notes: it is only the captions that are not clear. The addition to each caption of the bracketed word "restored" would avoid the difficulty.

One may regret that, in contrast to all prior editions, this omits a facsimile of the "original Rough draught." It may be hoped that all who use this volume will have at hand the excellent one in Dr. Boyd's *The Declaration of Independence*. Perhaps it is not too late to say that the promise of a comprehensive index at the end of the work offers cold comfort to present users; and that even the "throw-away" indexes which are to follow groups of volumes seem unattractive, in a work so marked otherwise by largesse. One suggestion ventured here, which would seem to be entirely practicable, is that, as the work draws to an end, and the returns, so to speak, are all in, there will be a splendid opportunity to discuss the whole history and the status at that time of the collections of manuscript papers of Thomas Jefferson.

With compliments to the New York *Times* Company, to Princeton and to its Press, the scholarly world will hail the production of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* as one of the greatest of all accomplishments in the historiography of our time. To the one who has had the good fortune to conceive such an enterprise and to carry it to its start with such success and with so much promise will go the best wishes of all. For, himself conscious of the different functions of the editor and the historian, he has made this edition what it is by bringing both to bear. After all is said, the chief glory of the *Papers* lies not in its vast size or even in the new material now printed but rather in the fact that, as to the writings of

Thomas Jefferson, the editing has brought into the work the accumulated learning of preceding years.

*Chevy Chase, Maryland*

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

JEFFERSON: THE SCENE OF EUROPE, 1784 TO 1789. By *Marie Kimball*. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1950. Pp. ix, 357. \$6.00.)

THIS is the third volume of a biography of the third President of the United States by the scholarly and distinguished curator of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation. It covers the five years when Jefferson was the representative of the newly born American nation in the French capital.

For years Jefferson had dreamed of visiting Europe but had never found opportunity to do so. Now that he found it possible to go, he did so not as a casual tourist but as the official envoy of the United States. The Europe to which he went was the Old Regime during the last half decade before the French Revolution, a world of kings and nobles, privileged classes, and eighteenth century formality. He came to know the court and diplomatic circles in Paris and also the cream of the intellectuals. As successor to the popular Franklin, he found all doors open to him, and the contacts he made were to broaden and enrich his life. In many ways, however, he contributed as much as he received, for so well did he fit into this highly cultured and sophisticated society that it was almost as though he had been born into it.

His primary duties and responsibilities were of course in the diplomatic field. He was sent over in the first place as one of the ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate treaties of commerce with the various European nations, but the ministers soon found that most of these countries were not disposed to sign such treaties, and as a result only a very few were negotiated while Jefferson was on the commission. Later, when Franklin returned to America, Jefferson was elected by Congress in his place as minister to France. In this capacity he worked for the interests of his country, especially in promoting acceptance under favorable terms by the French of tobacco, whale oil, rice, and other American products. He also concluded a consular convention with France that with only minor variations was to remain in effect for many years.

During this period of his life as at other times, Jefferson found time and energy to engage in an astonishing number and variety of activities. For the Virginia legislature he engaged the famous sculptor Houdon to carve a statue of Washington and he also had a bust of Lafayette sculptured. For Congress he had swords and medals made for a number of Revolutionary leaders. He had plans drawn for the new Virginia capitol in Richmond. He attended *salons* of the leading philosophers of the day. He purchased furniture and fixtures for his *hôtel*, much of which was later to adorn his beloved Monticello. He visited England and with Jay engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the British

government and also visited a number of English country estates. He traveled to various parts of France and also to Italy and Germany.

Of particular interest to many readers will be the chapter on Jefferson's romance with the beautiful Maria Cosway, with whom he seems to have been genuinely in love. One gains the impression that she was selfish and self-centered, incapable of responding fully to his many-sided personality and not completely comprehending his stature.

It was Jefferson's fortune to be in Paris during the first few months of the French Revolution. Having lived through a revolution at home, he could envisage for France the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a new popular government. He maintained a strict neutrality between the different factions, however, properly contending that it is not the function of the official representative of a foreign country to interfere in the domestic affairs of the nation to which he is assigned. When he left Paris in September, 1789, though much had already happened, the extremes of the Revolution had not yet been reached.

To the present reviewer this is the best of the volumes of the series published to date. Based upon a vast amount of research, the work is yet clear and easily readable. Mrs. Kimball is to be congratulated for the standard of excellence she is maintaining in her biography of this great American.

*North Carolina Department of Archives and History* CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

JEFFERSON AND MADISON: THE GREAT COLLABORATION. By  
*Adrienne Koch.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xv, 294. \$4.00.)

JEFFERSON and Madison were, of course, the founding fathers of the democratic movement in America, and it is natural that much historical incense should have been burned for them since 1932. Their collaboration was not as obvious as was that of the founders of the modern rival of their creed, but it was no less real, and Miss Koch has given it new emphasis. Her volume is, in fact, a memorial to a great and remarkable political friendship. Each of her heroes was dependent on the other, and they both were quite aware of it. Jefferson's speculative and philosophical approach to problems required the practical sagacity of his friend's criticism, and he rarely formulated an important policy without asking Madison's judgment upon his work. Though the two did not always agree, there was always a meeting of minds and there was always deep mutual regard and affection throughout half a century.

Miss Koch has followed this relationship in a clear and charming manner, but she has undertaken to do much more than this. Her volume is intended as an analysis of the political doctrines of her protagonists, and she finds them in substantial accord with the tenets of our current democracy, including the "security of the Union, the inflexible dependence upon 'majority government,' the

sovereignty of the people with their natural right to self-preservation, [and] the safeguarding of cherished civil liberties . . ." (p. 289).

The author maintains that Jefferson and Madison collaborated closely in the drafting of the Kentucky Resolutions in 1798, the original version of which stated the doctrine of nullification quite explicitly (pp. 188-89, 287-88). This hardly harmonizes with more recent trends, but such differences between past and present are consistently minimized. Miss Koch also minimizes certain inconsistencies into which these practicing philosophers fell. For instance, by way of explaining Madison's approval of the Bank Bill of 1816, she says, "The government had only two alternatives in honoring the tremendous financial obligations incurred by them on account of the war: private banking, on whatever terms the Northern owners of capital would choose; or a second national bank under Republican political supervision" (p. 255). This is not an accurate evaluation of the situation, and is, after all, only an appeal to expediency.

It startles one to read that "New Orleans was slated soon to yield 'more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half our inhabitants'" (p. 232), but Jefferson can take part of the blame for this remarkable statement. He can scarcely be blamed, however, for locating the seat of government at Washington in 1793 (p. 141), or for accrediting the Essex Junto to Virginia (p. 251). There are not many such slips, however, in this fresh and sympathetic study of a great friendship.

*University of Virginia*

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

JAMES MADISON: FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1787-1800. By Irving Brant. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1950. Pp. 520. \$6.00.)

THE substance of this, the third volume of Brant's biography of Madison, is different from that of the second inasmuch as it depicts Madison in the act of shifting to a state rights position hardly compatible with the one where he had so long remained steadfast. This volume, nevertheless, throughout its first half continues to portray him as a nationalist statesman striving in his characteristic way to augment both federal power and popular freedom. Indeed it shows him at the height of his nationalist activities as he works for the establishment of "a supreme Constitution of the nation and the people, neither the instrument nor the destroyer of any section or any class." If in the course of the federal period Madison's zeal for federal power died down, his fervor for popular freedom went on burning high as ever.

This is attested in his sympathy with the French Revolution and in many other ways as well but in none more striking than in his leadership of congressional opposition to the measures of Alexander Hamilton. In this leadership Madison found himself defending "veterans and other small fry . . . the America of wayside life . . . against organized commercial and financial interests with

the government as their instrument. The result," says Brant, "was to make him the fusing agent" of what was to become the Jeffersonian Democracy. This reaction to Hamiltonian Federalism Brant applauds even though it necessitated urging the curtailment of those powers which Madison more than any other statesman had been responsible for putting into the Constitution. The powers, writes Brant, which Madison "helped to confer" Madison "renounced when they were perverted to base uses."

This comment suggests that the Father of the Constitution had a certain noble simplicity of mind or character in spite of his long experience with politics. It is astonishing that the author of *Federalist No. 10* should not have surmised that his collaborators in the enterprise of forming a more perfect Union often had interested motives even if he himself did not; and that as Beard has shown in his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* regarded the making of the Constitution as the means to the end which Hamilton achieved. In their view the Hamiltonian system was a corollary of the Constitution. If that view is correct—and Brant except in Madison's case does not prove the contrary—then Hamilton and his partisans, far from perverting power, merely applied it to the uses it had been designed for. This renders plausible the doctrine that the constitution-making of 1787 was the Thermidor of the American Revolution, though neither Brant nor Madison views it in that light. While taking Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* into account, Brant yet chooses to emphasize rather the generous than the interested motives of the framers; and he can therefore logically refrain from chiding the Father of the Constitution for not foreseeing that as such he was almost bound to become the Grandfather of the Hamiltonian system. Though neither he nor Madison uses the term, it is the erection of that system that both apparently regard as the American Thermidor. It would have been apt had Madison called that development by that name; for it cut off his career, at least for the time being, as a federal-democratic statesman almost as neatly as the guillotine cut off the head of Robespierre. The propriety of the term would have been enhanced by the fact that the French minister, Fauchet, "writing to his government, paid Madison the highest tribute in his power: 'Madison, le Robespierre des Etats-Unis.'" Fauchet probably meant that Madison like the French leader was, despite his abilities, a bit academic; despite his defects, idealistic, virtuous, incorruptible.

Whether idealists always understand so well as they believe they do that elusive thing called the public interest is a question which we think that Brant should have ventilated in this volume more than he has. It is conceivable that once in a while men like Hamilton may understand it better; that once in a while the public interest may coincide with the interest of the few rather than with that of the many and that the establishment of both the Constitution itself and its Hamiltonian corollary is an example of an occasion when it did. That is not to say, however, that it always does; or that in doing so, in 1787 and in 1789-91,

it imposed upon the many a regime that they found really objectionable. If they had they could have repudiated it before they did, if indeed that generation ever repudiated it at all. The party which Madison called forth out of opposition to Hamilton and which Jefferson led to victory in 1800 touched the Hamiltonian system very lightly; and the United States Bank, one of its more obnoxious features, Madison himself as President would one day give his blessing to as an institution of proved utility. But that is to anticipate the fourth and perhaps the fifth volume of this massive biography.

*University of Buffalo*

JOHN T. HORTON

LE SECRET DE JUNÍPERO SERRA, FONDATEUR DE LA CALIFORNIE-NOUVELLE, 1769-1784. In two volumes. By *Charles J. G. Maximin Piette*, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1949. Pp. 480; 595. \$6.00.)

SOME great Christians because of the undiluted excellence of their qualities have enjoyed a fame which has leaped over the barriers arising from partisan limitations. Amidst human divisions these men belong to humanity itself. Such was the Italian of Umbria, Francis of Assisi, and such too was his spiritual son, the Spaniard of Mallorca and greatest of Westerners, Fray Junípero Serra. The "secret" of the man's greatness is divulged in these two volumes written by a Belgian confrère, the late Charles Maximin Piette.

This biography places colonial and western historians in debt to its author. For almost a decade Father Piette traveled in two hemispheres and hunted assiduously in archives for the documents, many hitherto unknown, which make up the substance of these volumes. The letters of Serra here newly revealed shed light upon the inner man and upon the stage where he played out his mortal role. Letters of fellow missionaries, viceroys, governors, captains give added illumination. Points of early California history or details of Serra's life doubted or called in question by one or another historian (including this reviewer) are here confirmed by the accumulation of documentary evidence. The appearance of the *San Antonio*, fat with provisions for the starving colony at San Diego, after nine days of prayer and after Governor Portolá had wisely decided to abandon the settlement, is among such incidents. The thing was not a figment of imagination which the biographer Palóu set down to enhance a reputation for sanctity. The details of Serra's death (1784) and his behavior at the end demonstrating greatness of spirit could be considered the exaggerations of an ardent and admiring biographer. The evidence of other documents here offered dispels the illusion. But the chief value of this new evidence lies in the revelation of the "secret"—the high and peerless quality of Serra's soul.

Some may call these volumes a collection of letters linked together by the author's too meager narrative, and it is true that the numerous and long quota-



tions clog and clutter the flowing and lucid quality of the author's style. Yet, so many of the letters are of such excellence and their introduction and interpretation are so intelligently humane that the historian, at least, and the student of human nature would not have it otherwise. It is true that Father Piette was an ardent admirer, but he does not fall into the classical one-sidedness and unrealism of this attitude. On the one hand, the qualities of Serra were well nigh beyond exaggeration; on the other, governors of Alta California like Rivera and Fages, men of many human weaknesses, receive just and sympathetic interpretation. The character portrayal of Rivera is particularly fine. Objectivity is shown too in the narrative of a quarrel which broke out within the Franciscan family when the Jalisco friars tried to wrest the rocks of Lower California from their brethren of San Fernando. Philosophical reflections strewn throughout the pages tend to enrich them though some may object to this in a work of scientific import. Deserving of criticism is the lack of more exact and satisfying reference to the documents, while the volumes cry out for an index.

*University of San Francisco*

PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S. J.

VERMONT IN QUANDARY, 1763-1825. By *Chilton Williamson*, Assistant Professor of History, Barnard College, Columbia University. [Growth of Vermont, Volume IV.] (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xiv, 318.)

THE commercial dependence upon the St. Lawrence waterway of western Vermont, where the dominant founding fathers of that state mostly lived, and the influence of this dependence upon the course of Vermont history are the major themes of this volume. Beginning with the New Hampshire grants in the 1760's amid a scene of pioneer settlement, land speculation, and interprovincial rivalry, the story ends in the 1820's when the Champlain Canal effectively diverted the trade of western Vermont from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson.

The "quandary" of Vermont was implicit in the efforts of its people "to reconcile their political affiliations with their commercial connections." The problem first arose in 1775 when the men of the Green Mountains impulsively sided with the rebelling colonies and participated in a vain effort to bring the commercial area of the St. Lawrence under American control. Soon thereafter the Republic of Vermont was erected, independent of both New York State and of Great Britain. The brash young republic waited fourteen years, however, to be admitted to the United States. Rebuffed on the south, the Vermont leaders entertained proposals during 1780-83 from the British in Canada for reunion. In two chapters on the Haldimand negotiations the author rightly shows that the Vermont leaders seriously considered rejoining Great Britain and were probably only deterred by uncertainty of the outcome of the struggle.

At the close of the war Vermont was outside British territory but was not yet

federated with the United States so that the quandary remained. Half the volume deals with this later period and much new material is ably presented. Ira Allen and his loyalist brother Levi, in a final burst of activity, strove with some success to reopen the channels of trade between Vermont and Canada. Vermont enterprise subsequently penetrated Canada by land speculation and settlement, participation in the business boom of the Napoleonic wars, smuggling during the embargo and the War of 1812, and by postwar trade. But the opening of the Champlain and Erie Canals gave western Vermont a superior market in New York.

Professor Williamson has produced a useful and stimulating, although admittedly not a definitive, book that does a service for Vermont not unlike what D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850*, did for Canada. Emphasis on geographic factors is admirable. In interpretation some may not be in accord with the air of finality that the author displays at times and wish that he had used more qualifications. The indiscriminate use throughout of the term, "the Allens" is unfortunate as it is often inexact and it ignores at times others of the governing faction. The format is pleasing; the maps—some by Earle Newton—are excellent. The volume is a notable addition to the "Growth of Vermont" series.

*Hamline University*

CLARENCE W. RIFE

EXPERIMENT IN INDEPENDENCE: NEW JERSEY IN THE CRITICAL PERIOD, 1781-1789. By *Richard P. McCormick*. [Rutgers Studies in History, No. 6.] (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 338. \$4.00.)

It is a startling commentary on American scholarship that we have had to wait until the publication of this book for an adequate scholarly history of even one of the thirteen states during the Confederation period. Such histories as we do have are of varying degrees of inadequacy and inaccuracy and add little or nothing to our understanding. McCormick's work is based on thorough research, much of it in unused materials, and it is remarkably free from so many of the assumptions concerning the period which have little to recommend them except their antiquity. Instead, McCormick recognizes, as the title indicates, that this was an "experiment in independence." The majority of New Jersey voters could do as they pleased without outside interference or control like that from Great Britain before 1776 and from the central government after 1789.

While there are many similarities between New Jersey and the other states, there are also many unique things born of New Jersey's history and of her experiences in the Revolution. Thus while there were "radicals" and "conservatives," they did not always behave as did similar groups in other states. Perhaps the most illuminating part of the book is the account of how New Jersey's debt

problem affected its politics. New Jersey paid interest on both the state debt and on the large holdings of national debt owned by its citizens. This meant a heavy burden of taxation. Hence New Jersey leaders of all shades of opinion consistently supported the grant of an independent income to Congress in the hope that the state could unload its burden upon the central government. Of course, as in other states, New Jersey "conservatives" looked to the creation of a powerful central government as a means of checking the "democratical excesses" of the state legislatures, but it was the burden of debt and taxation that was the main reason there was virtually no opposition to the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 in New Jersey.

New Jersey was unique again in that the legislature supported the debtors as well as the creditors. It set up a loan office so that debtors could get money to pay both their debts and taxes and the scheme did not work badly. One might give other examples of new facts and new ideas to be found in this book: for instance, the account of the futile efforts of the legislature to create a foreign trade where none existed. It should dispel once and for all the old myth about "trade barriers" which is chanted over and over, even in the pages of this magazine. The book should be read by all those who find it necessary to generalize about the period. In addition, it should stimulate the writing of adequate histories of the remaining twelve states during the Confederation.

*University of Wisconsin*

MERRILL JENSEN

THE CORPORATION IN NEW JERSEY: BUSINESS AND POLITICS, 1791-1875. By *John W. Cadman, Jr.* [Studies in Economic History, published in co-operation with the Committee on Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 462. \$6.00.)

Lost in the institutional shadowland between law and economics, the corporation has only recently received extended treatment at the hands of historians. There are still substantial gaps in our knowledge of its evolution. The development in New Jersey is particularly worthy of investigation for the liberal policy of that state in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had significant consequences for the whole national economy.

Unhappily Mr. Cadman's study of the early history of the Jersey corporation adds not much to our understanding. He has diligently catalogued the provisions of a great many charters and traced some of the superficial changes of procedure and form. But he has not even touched on the fundamental problem of the social and economic role of the corporation.

Mr. Cadman runs agrief with the assumption that the corporation of 1791 was essentially the same as that of 1875. Disregarding the terms actually used at the earlier date, he defines the corporation so as "to include all profit-seeking

enterprises chartered by the state" (although two sentences later he admits of two arbitrary exceptions [p. xii]). An open-minded examination of the very first such organization in New Jersey, the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, would have displayed the inadequacy of that definition. But the treatment is not open-minded and from the start is stopped from confronting the most significant question of all, how an institution set up to operate as a body politic, an agency of government, was converted into a private, profit-making body.

Two specific illustrations will reveal the consequences of reading back into its formative stages, the later features of the corporation. Mr. Cadman argues (pp. 376 ff.) that the corporate charter was from the start held an irrepealable contract not subject to alteration by the legislature. He cites in support the failure of a succession of attempts to amend charters, quoting the arguments of those who opposed such attempts. Of course, the very fact that the issue was raised again and again indicates that the outcome was by no means clear at the time; and other states did modify acts of incorporation freely until the Dartmouth College Case of 1819. The crucial question is why New Jersey did not. But Mr. Cadman cannot even see that this is a question.

He goes astray also in dealing with the liability of members of a corporation in its lifetime for its unpaid debts. In 1945 this reviewer collaborated in an article which demonstrated that stockholders were accounted liable at the opening of the nineteenth century and remained so until a series of judicial decisions in the next two decades relieved them of that responsibility (*Journal of Economic History*, V, 1 ff.). Mr. Cadman acknowledges the existence of that article. Yet he neither accepts nor disputes, but disregards, its evidence (p. 41) and holds to the view that limited liability was there from the start. His evidence is most dubious—a textbook opinion of 1832, long after the issue was settled in the courts; six petitions not one of which deals with liability and five of which come after 1820; and one mining charter in which a proviso for limited liability was expressly made. In addition he confuses two entirely different subjects, liability in the case of going corporations capable of levying on the property of their members and liability in the case of dissolved corporations (p. 341).

The men of the early nineteenth century were more aware of the tenuousness of their own ideas on the subject. In an early decision involving the bank tax and touching on the nature of the corporation, the New Jersey court pointed out, "This is certainly a new question in this State, and the Court, in making up their opinion, cannot have the benefit of former decisions" (*Den, State v. Holmes et al.*, 3 N.J. Law Reports, 600, 604). It would be well were historians as conscious of the changing character of the institutions with which they deal.

Harvard University

OSCAR HANDLIN

THE OLD OREGON COUNTRY: A HISTORY OF FRONTIER TRADE,  
TRANSPORTATION, AND TRAVEL. By *Oscar Osburn Winther*, Depart-

ment of History, Indiana University. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1950. Pp. xvi, 348. \$7.50.)

THE greater part of this book has already appeared in the author's earlier work, *The Great Northwest* (New York, 1947). Professor Winther acknowledges the fact in his preface and expresses the hope that "the more extended and detailed treatment here, with accompanying documentation, will be of added value to the readers." The introductory chapter is new and much of the one on steamboating. At other points quotations and descriptive passages have been interpolated. Footnotes and bibliography make the book more useful for reference purposes than the textbook version. The reproductions of contemporary maps are welcome, though in some cases they are reduced in size so severely that they must be read under a glass. A number of good illustrations are included, most of them from the private collection of Donald Bates of Portland and from the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. The index is adequate.

Since the author is bringing together here the results of research published elsewhere, it is probably inevitable that the work should bear the marks of paste and scissors. It is regrettable nonetheless that literary construction of this kind should blind the eye to the problems and the possibilities of the subject that is being presented.

This is true particularly in the latter part of the book where the author traces the routes and describes the modes of travel but attempts nothing more than the barest outline of the regional economy that was developing. Agriculture and commerce were intimately related in this region as elsewhere, and they deserve a closer economic analysis than Professor Winther gives them. Portland's role as a frontier metropolis is nowhere brought into clear focus, though there are a number of incidental references to it. The railroads, which were to integrate the region with the rest of the country, are treated in cursory and half-hearted fashion, and this final chapter, which might well point out the climax of one historical era and suggest the beginning of a new one, is actually one of the weakest in the book.

These are matters which are important to an understanding of the course of westward expansion in the Pacific Northwest. One could wish that Dr. Winther had made a fresh approach, and that he had given more thought to them before offering a second book so closely related to the first.

*University of Washington*

CHARLES M. GATES

THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS: AN ANTHOLOGY. Edited by *Perry Miller*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xvii, 521. \$6.50.)

HISTORIANS have entertained reasonable doubts about the role social and cultural records can properly play in their field. They have feared the multiplication of windy and futile materials which neither add to knowledge nor refine

perspective. Unfortunately, too intense a caution on their part has occasionally encouraged this very same tendency. Consider historians who recommend Howard Fast's fiction with too little regard to the question of whether it is true to historical fact, let alone human nature. Consider, again, the references in numerous texts to fiction by William Allen White which ought better to be dismissed as merely poor. Inartistic work can represent a variety of social ideas and tendencies; but to list White's fiction blandly in a sequence with, let us say, that of Dreiser, the American Winston Churchill, Cather, David Graham Phillips, and Edith Wharton is not only to display a lack of discrimination; it is to miss much of the intellectual history of the past fifty years. Must a historian, then, add cultural specialties to his other accomplishments? Not at all. Not necessarily. He should, however, tread lightly where he cannot walk with authority. And he can encourage rapport between the cultural disciplines and the historical discipline—a rapport from which both can gain.

Historians who resign aesthetics to the modern new critics would nevertheless probably agree that transcendentalism deserves mention in any American history course. Our problem is to avoid banalities and become increasingly adept at relating this intellectual movement to the general circumstances which fostered it. Professor Miller's book deserves the most careful consideration in this connection. Not only does it provide a wealth of transcendentalist writing, some of it new and all of it sensitively selected and organized, but, on another level, it provides, in the form of biographical vignettes and precise introductory material, a running history of the movement, from its beginnings in antimechanistic and Unitarian doctrines, through the deep currents of feeling and experiment stirred by such figures as Orestes A. Brownson, George Ripley, Theodore Parker, and Amos B. Alcott, as well as the more familiar Emerson and Thoreau. The fundamental point which the editor makes clear is that transcendentalism was more than a literary movement, and its advocates more than literary ornaments of the time. Their roots were in religious dissent, they helped to reassert the significance of the individual, and their aim was deeds as well as doctrine. The editor skillfully leads the reader through their heavy, and sometimes turgid, speculations, to show the force of the movement and its native significance.

They were hardly popular spokesmen and experimenters, though several achieved fame or notoriety. Their controversies relating to Locke, Kant, Cousin, and Goethe were not calculated to catch readers of the penny press. They were relatively few, and not representative of the several sections of the country. Yet they were rooted in their times, and important to them, as certainly as any more popular reformer or agitator. And here it seems to me the historian could supplement the labors of Professor Miller with genuine effect. What connection, he could ask, if any, may be found between transcendentalists and the more popular leaders of action and opinion in the pre-Civil War era? What do Alcott's educational theories tell us about the more influential ones of Mann and Barnard?



What light does Brownson's working-class perspective throw on that of Wright and Owen? How do Ripley's social experiments compare with those of the Greeley he later joined? What did a variety of transcendentalists, from Parker to Thoreau, add or not add to the antislavery movement, as compared, let us say, to Henry Ward Beecher, on the one hand, and Garrison, on the other? The intellectual is not necessarily an exotic, and the transcendentalists, for all their exalted prose, were Yankees first. The fact needs to be better understood. But it cannot be understood apart from transcendentalism in its intellectual aspects. Professor Miller's book could conceivably help to clarify this point.

*Antioch College*

LOUIS FILLER

ANDREW STEVENSON, DEMOCRAT AND DIPLOMAT, 1785-1857. By *Francis Fry Wayland*, Professor of History, Wagner College. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 290. \$4.00.)

THE subject of this biography has been relegated to obscurity since his death in 1857. Few American historians have taken more than passing note of Andrew Stevenson, and it is safe to say that to most historians he was scarcely more than a name. His fate was not unlike that of James K. Polk, who was all but forgotten until his diary was published in 1910; and yet, like Polk, he was a first-class second-string political figure.

Stevenson was related to some of the leading families of Virginia, a fact which assured the young man the personal contacts and the opportunity necessary to prove his worth. Stevenson made the most of his favored situation. At the age of fifteen, he entered the office of Adam Craig, clerk of Henrico County and of the Hustings Court and Common Council of Richmond, and, while performing his duties, he studied law, then becoming very quickly a successful lawyer. Of more importance, however, his work with Craig brought him in contact with the leading Republican politicians of Richmond and of Virginia. This and his family connections soon carried him into the state legislature, where he served for a number of years, during a considerable portion of which he was speaker of the house of delegates. Stevenson's years in Richmond as a successful lawyer and leading member of the legislature gained him an important place in the Richmond "Junto" of the Republican (Democratic) party. From this vantage point he was easily elected representative in Congress from the Richmond district. He served in Congress for fifteen years and was speaker of the House of Representatives for seven, 1827-1834. As speaker during the remaining years of the Adams' administration, Stevenson was the wheelhorse of the Jackson Democrats, who were making life almost unbearable for Adams. Stevenson was first and last a party man, and as such he went down the line for all the measures advocated by Jackson. The arbitrary power of recognition and committee appointments which the speaker then possessed made it relatively easy for Stevenson

to maneuver a bill either off or on the "sidetrack" in accordance with the approval or disapproval of the Jacksonian faction of the party. Stevenson was thus a powerful instrument to be used by Old Hickory in the furtherance of his program. Professor Wayland contends that Stevenson was following his own convictions in doing this; and, though there are those who believe that Stevenson was only a tool, it seems to me that Wayland is absolutely right. Stevenson's political philosophy was in close harmony with that of Jackson, thus rendering him a sincere and deadly "hatchet man."

Though Jackson appointed Stevenson as minister to Great Britain in 1834, he served under three other presidents—Van Buren, Harrison, and Tyler. During his tenure of office, there were sharp controversies with Great Britain over the search and seizure of slavers flying the American flag, British interest in Texas, and the boundaries of Maine and Oregon. Stevenson upheld the American position as well as it was possible; but at the time Great Britain was unwilling to settle any of the questions by compromise, so that Stevenson's chief function was to hold up the American position and at the same time to retain amicable relations with Great Britain. He did this remarkably well; and no inconsiderable credit is due him in his private capacity as a cultivated and affable gentleman, rather than as a diplomat.

After his return to America, Stevenson devoted the remaining years of his life to his law practice, his plantations, to furthering the cause of agriculture, and to the University of Virginia as a member of the board of visitors and as rector.

Professor Wayland is to be commended for his thorough, even amazing, job of research; he has organized his material with skill and has written his book with competence. One might complain, however, about the use of abbreviated footnotes—forced on him, no doubt, by the high cost of printing.

*University of Alabama*

FRANK L. OWSLEY

JOSEPH HENRY: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By *Thomas Coulson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. 352. \$5.00.)

JOSEPH Henry is just as important a figure in the history of American science as Franklin. Despite his quasi-official position as secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and as the outstanding American experimental physicist of his day (he was born either in 1797 or 1799 and died in 1878) the general reading public has remained indifferent to Henry. His own reticence may be the reason. It has remained for Mr. Coulson to give us the first complete, critical biography—complete in the sense that it includes not only what has been published before but much more that is contained in unpublished letters and other documents that survived a fire in the Smithsonian Institution which destroyed notebooks and other documents of inestimable historical importance.

Henry's life falls naturally into three periods. There was the Albany period, which includes his boyhood, his student days and professorship at the Albany

Academy, his great discoveries in electromagnetism; there was the Princeton period, with more experimenting and with proof that an electromagnetic telegraph was practical, an anticipation of his own work to which the overrated Morse never reconciled himself; and there was the Smithsonian period during which Henry not only built up a scientific center but served as scientific consultant to the government and unexpectedly flowered into an able administrator.

Faraday and Henry had so much in common as scientists and as men that it is impossible to discuss the one without discussing the other. Both discovered electromagnetic induction and self-induction; both were largely self-taught, though Henry did study at the Albany Academy; both spurned material gain; both declined to patent inventions that might have been the basis of fortunes; both were deeply religious and did their best to practice what they believed; both contented themselves with discovering and recording isolated phenomena, though Faraday saw more clearly than did Henry the theoretical significance of electromagnetic induction.

It would be a mistake to think of Henry only as the discoverer of electromagnetic induction and self-induction. So with Faraday. Both men interested themselves in natural phenomena whether they were electrical or not. Yet it cannot be denied that the independent discovery of electromagnetic induction by Faraday and Henry was probably the greatest achievement in the physical sciences of the nineteenth century. Out of that discovery came all our electrical apparatus, the Maxwellian conception of the now outmoded ether, the electromagnetic theory of radiation, and eventually the latter-day conception of matter. Any biography of either Henry or Faraday must be devoted largely to electromagnetism.

Electricity had engaged physicists ever since the friction machine was invented to generate static electricity and the Leyden jar was used to store it. After Franklin not much progress could be made until Volta invented his famous "pile" which made it possible to experiment with electric currents. Without an electric current there could be no electromagnet, hence no phenomenon of electromagnetic induction. Given the "pile" every physicist in Europe and America was bound to experiment with currents. There was also bound to be a certain amount of simultaneous and independent discovery, and this is exactly what happened in induction and self-induction—phenomena with which the names of both Faraday and Henry are linked.

Those who know their physics will probably agree with Mr. Coulson's estimate of Henry's place in science. How is that place to be judged? Mr. Coulson properly compares what was happening in English and American laboratories while Faraday and Henry were at their best. In both countries Newtonian mechanics ruled physics. Henry could not shake off this influence. Faraday did so partially. He was no mathematician, yet he thought as one. To him we owe the mathematical conception of lines of force along which electromagnetism acts and of the field, which was later to be highly developed by Einstein.

Whether or not Henry could have emulated Maxwell in mathematically

developing the ether as a carrier of all electromagnetic wave lengths, from X rays to radio waves, is doubtful. Much more was needed than Henry's knowledge of calculus. Besides, Maxwell was a creative mathematical physicist, which Henry never was. So, as Mr. Coulson puts it, Henry "like a child went on asking 'why?' without seeking a final answer." Because of this naïveté and a curiosity that forced him always to take up something new, Henry's "scientific life was a series of beginnings."

Henry belongs to the pioneering period of American history—the period when the country west of the Alleghenies was explored and opened by men like Frémont, when California's resources were discovered and a beginning was made in exploiting them. American experimental science passed through a similar period of pioneering, so that Henry, the physicist, may well be classed with the woodsmen and surveyors who forced their way through the wilderness. It is the trail-blazing Henry whose life and works Mr. Coulson has studied with much profit, and it is as a trail-blazer in the American tradition that Henry should be respected and admired.

*New York City*

WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

THE STORY OF THE MEXICAN WAR. By *Robert Selph Henry*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1950. Pp. 424. \$4.50.)

IN this work the author has succeeded in condensing within the covers of a single, tightly written volume, the complex and colorful tale of our first adventure, on a large scale, in foreign war and territorial conquest. As the title suggests, the treatment is popular. The steady flow of the narrative is seldom interrupted by either critical or commendatory examination of personalities, events, or actions. The result is a sound, pleasantly readable recital of the war with Mexico. The numerous bypaths into which the military and diplomatic operations of the war tended to divagate are all explored in sufficient detail to bring them into proper perspective and indicate their relative importance. Mr. Henry's descriptions of the campaigns and the eight major engagements are models of simplicity, well within the comprehension of any high school student with two years service in the R.O.T.C. Civilian or military students well acquainted with the subject will discover little that is factually new to them or freshly interpreted.

The author was fortunate in that his source materials had already been located, assembled, and evaluated by a distinguished and fabulously industrious researcher. It is probable that every book, pamphlet, newspaper, diary, or collection of letters touching the subject of the Mexican War is listed in Justin Smith's bibliography. Although Bernard DeVoto takes a dim view of some of the conclusions which Professor Smith reached on the basis of his thorough investigations, Mr. Henry appears to agree in the main with the findings of the Dartmouth scholar. It was recently asserted in these columns that "an essential factor in the

writing of military history is an appropriate respect for the enemy." Until Smith's two volumes appeared some thirty years ago that essential factor had been very generally overlooked or ignored by American writers who chronicled the campaigns of Taylor and Scott. Mr. Henry has, for the most part, faithfully followed the broad trail blazed by Professor Smith. The plucky Mexican soldiers, whose numerical superiority in every battle did not save them from honorable defeat, are given full marks for most of the military virtues other than generalship.

The treatment of Winfield Scott is carefully objective with only superficial critical appraisal of his battlefield tactics. That of Taylor is, in the opinion of the reviewer, over-lenient. President Polk is presented in a light that suggests that Professor McCormac's views of the character of that statesman have impressed the author. Mr. Henry has not failed to indicate, whenever he mentions an officer of the American Army, the role which that officer was later to assume in either the Union or Confederate forces. The reader is not permitted to forget for a moment that the battlefields of the Mexican War were the schoolrooms where the future corps, division, and army commanders in blue or grey received their basic training.

The documentation is rather full and is conveniently placed at the end of the chapter. It would be interesting, however, to know the sources of some statements offered without the support of citations. The maps, so-called, are simple sketches stripped to the bone in order to afford elementary visual aid to the general reader. Some of them are without scales, others lack even the meridian line arrow. For the campaign in New Mexico and for Wool's and Doniphan's celebrated marches, described in detail in the text, there is not even a route sketch. The illustrations are reproductions of the crude woodcuts which first appeared in a "history" of the war published in 1848 and add little to the book's interest. An excellent and useful synoptic table of events is included as an appendix.

Very few errors are detected except in the case of Spanish words misspelled, wrongly accented, or not accented at all. An *obispado* (p. 145) is a bishopric, and not a bishop's palace (*obispalia*).

The reader who knows or remembers little about the war and would like to learn more without too much study, will find the story here set forth in a form easy to digest and told with freshness and good humor. For the military student the book provides a first-rate refresher course in a subject which never fails to stimulate his imagination and renew pride in his profession.

*San Diego, California*

CHARLES WINSLOW ELLIOTT

CAPTAIN SAM GRANT. By *Lloyd Lewis*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. 512. \$6.00.)

LETTERS FROM LLOYD LEWIS SHOWING STEPS IN THE RESEARCH FOR HIS BIOGRAPHY OF U. S. GRANT. With an Introduction by

*Robert Maynard Hutchins.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. 83. \$2.00.)

"I do wish this would close. If we have to fight I would like to do it all at once and then make friends." So wrote Lieutenant Ulysses Grant to Julia Dent, his fiancée. It was September 6, 1846, and "Sam" Grant was in the small army Zachary Taylor was leading against the strong Mexican position at Monterrey. For regulars as well as volunteers the march from Matamoras had been grueling. But not a word did the young officer—who thought the war not only unjust but a slow one, there having been only two battles in five months—say about his heavy duties as quartermaster, or the hardships. It was about uncultivated land, poor houses, and general poverty that he reported.

The quotation above is from a hitherto unpublished letter furnished by General Ulysses S. Grant III, such letters being one of the new sources used by Lewis in his superb book. More than anyone else Lloyd Lewis realized that to understand Grant one must start at the beginning, and in his search for material he was zealous and indefatigable. He takes the reader back to the general's grandfather, Captain Noah Grant, veteran of the Revolution, father of two sets of children, a popular and well-educated cobbler, and something of a practicing frontier liberal on the subject of abstinence. "I want everything to be in terms of personality—the convergence of other personalities on Grant and vice versa," wrote Lewis in one of the letters. Not only did he succeed in that but equally well did he fulfill the desire to make his biography appear like a story that happened to be true.

Lewis did not believe that the statements of the father, Jesse Grant, about his son were as unreliable as some have thought, and in the boy's early years at Georgetown, Ohio, as well as in those at West Point—where it is not a father or neighbors that give testimony—one sees characteristic traits of the general emerge. In the academy chapters one becomes acquainted with future important Federal and Confederate officers. More are met in the Mexican War, revealing in camp, on the march, and in battle their characteristics as men and soldiers. About a third of the book is devoted to the war, not too much considering its importance, and since Grant was in all the battles except Buena Vista—and no one seemingly was in all—one gets a good impression of that conflict, with emphasis on the actors, the country, and its people.

Grant's service in Oregon and California is treated very sympathetically, without glossing over incidents that led to his resignation from the army. Stories are contradictory, with only a few definite facts. "No mention of any arrest was on the books," says Lewis. The farm and St. Louis years are full of pathos. Many things contributed to failure on the farm: ague, a national depression, poor crops. Though "Sam Grant was becoming the ghost of a soldier," old army friends testified that "he drank nothing but water," and even when things were hard the ex-captain pressed into the reluctant hand of James Longstreet five



dollars that Grant alone remembered that he owed. On her part, staunch Julia remarked, "We will not always be in this condition."

The Galena year is different from that before described. Grant was on his way up, for the business in which he was engaged with his brothers was thriving, and the newcomer made an impression, for when war came it was to Grant the leaders of the town turned, and he became drill-master of the Galena company. Behind the recruits, as they marched to the station to entrain for Springfield, grip in hand, strode the veteran of hard battles and long marches. If that picture stirs, the ending of the next and final chapter does so still more. A great scene is portrayed better than ever before. Grant, newly appointed to command of a refractory regiment, which has been kindled by the eloquence of John Logan, responds to calls of "Speech!" with five words: "Men go to your quarters!" Equally telling are Lewis' concluding words: "They were in the army now."

We are to be grateful for the letters not merely because in them Lewis writes unrestrainedly and with infectious enthusiasm but because they give glimpses of what would have been in the lamented unwritten volumes. In this connection it is to be recalled that he sometimes wrote from unchecked recollection, and made statements that would doubtless have been tempered or omitted in the completed work, for instance, the assertion (p. 66) that upon becoming general in chief, "Grant begged McClellan to come in." But there are new points supported and argued in the letters themselves. One natural question is: How did the biographer of Sherman rate him in comparison with Grant? The answer is unequivocal. Sherman got his real military education from Grant. Very interesting is the attack upon the fundamental question: Is Grant a mystery? In November, 1947, Lewis wrote, "He's a mystery all right. Sherman knew; Sherman knew better than any of them." A year later he says, "There is no 'mystery.'" Lewis then saw everything explained by the fact that in anything that interested Grant—be it mental arithmetic, pistol marksmanship, horses, or swimming—Grant could excel. And "whipping the Secessionists was simply a thing that interested him." It seems like oversimplification, and one may wonder if Lewis would have held narrowly to it. But no student of Grant will ever get that statement out of his mind.

*Indiana University*

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

A HISTORY OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Clement Eaton*, Professor of History, University of Kentucky. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 636. \$7.00.)

THIS is a thoughtful and balanced treatment of the Southern states and their people from the first settlements to the secession of the lower South in the winter of 1860-1861. The integrating theme of the book, as the author explains, "is the emergence of a regional culture, created by all classes of Southern society rather

than by an elite, aristocratic group." The first hundred and seventy years of Southern history are rather skimmed, but from the Revolution on the treatment is as full as one could reasonably expect. Narrative chapters, including several dealing with political events, are interspersed with others which discuss the economic, social, and intellectual life of the region. The focus on the South does not prevent the author from saying enough about other sections to make comparisons possible and to give emphasis to the developments and characteristics of the Southern regional culture.

In two respects, especially, Professor Eaton has served his readers unusually well. In the first place, he has sought out and introduced ample concrete illustrations of nearly all his important generalized descriptions of Southern life and conditions. In a single volume no longer than this one is and covering as wide a range of subject matter as it does, it would have been all too easy to rely upon generalization alone. But the author has read widely in private diaries, letters, and account books, in manuscript and in print, and has drawn freely upon these materials for specific examples of individual experiences under the conditions he is describing. Thus his pictures of society at all levels and in all portions of the South are realistic and convincing. In the second place, he has been careful to present both sides on all questions about which there is substantial disagreement among historians. On such topics as the effect of the British trade laws in the Southern colonies or the economic vitality of slavery on the eve of the Civil War, to cite but two examples, he states fairly the divergent views of the outstanding authorities so that the reader may judge them for himself. This willingness to recognize and present differing historical opinion is a notable feature of the book.

In his own interpretations, Professor Eaton usually steers a middle course. True, he can be outspoken when he so wishes: the conflict with Mexico was a "war of conquest" and "an adventure in imperialism of the South in partnership with the restless inhabitants of the West." Very occasionally he describes men or events in terms which some equally fair-minded readers might question: Senator Sumner's vitriolic speech attacking Senator Butler was "a disgraceful exhibition," but the physical beating which Preston Brooks administered to Sumner in retaliation was apparently no more than "undoubtedly a mistake." In general, however, the author is eminently just to both sides in the sectional controversy. The fire-eaters of the South share with the abolitionists of the North the responsibility for emotionalizing the issue to the point where compromise was no longer possible. And, unlike some writers, he recognizes clearly that the slavery question was peculiarly difficult because it involved in a fundamental way both moral and economic problems.

Beneath the emotionalism that the sectional controversy engendered lay the fact that the South had created its own particular culture, the description and evaluation of which is the central subject of the book. As one manifestation of

the romantic nationalism current in the mid-nineteenth century, Southern culture had transformed the region by 1860 into a "new nation." The evolution of this Southern nation down to the time of its great stroke for political independence has seldom if ever before been described in a single volume with such a happy combination of thoroughness, objectivity, and sympathetic understanding.

*Yale University*

LEONARD W. LABAREE

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860. In five volumes. Edited by *Edgar W. Knight*. Volume II, TOWARD EDUCATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 603. \$12.50.)

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GEORGIA. By *Dorothy Orr*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 463. \$6.00.)

THE need for adequate printed collections of source material and of a sufficient number of acceptable monographs developing, in definitive terms, limited areas of the field, has long been a major requirement of those interested in the intellectual history of the United States. Two volumes published this year attempt, with respect to the South, to fill this void. Professor Edgar W. Knight continues his ambitious effort to provide a documentary history of education in the ante-bellum South, while Miss Dorothy Orr approaches the problem from the vantage point of one state.

Compilations of source materials for American educational history have been produced before—notably by Monroe and by Cubberley—and collections of Southern educational sources have been put into print by Coon and by Eby. Nothing, however, as comprehensive as Professor Knight's contemplated five-volume series has been attempted before. It represents an important contribution toward an American *Monumenta paedagogica*. We need similarly thorough and scholarly source collections for other regions and other periods.

The main theme of the present volume may be surmised from its title, *Toward Educational Independence*. The emphasis is upon the growing opposition to intellectual dependence on Europe during the early years of the Republic, an opposition which "tended to stimulate active interest in native and democratic educational plans and arrangements for this country" (p. v). This dominant tendency is illustrated by a great wealth and variety of documents. Many of these, such as the early provisions for schools in the Southern states or the views on education of a host of Southern notables, are available in print elsewhere but only in obscure and inaccessible sources. A few, such as the pertinent letters of Jedidiah Morse, have apparently never been published before. Professor Knight's brief and incisive editorial comments are very helpful in placing all of these in their proper social and historical setting.

Miss Orr's volume, although not of this same high quality, is nevertheless our

first full-length history of education in Georgia. The work by Charles Edgeworth Jones, which appeared in 1889, was neither so complete nor so detailed as this one. E. Merton Coulter's excellent *College Life in the Old South*, published in 1928, concentrated its attention upon the early development of the University of Georgia.

Miss Orr emphasizes, as her principal thesis, the economic obstacles which stood in the way of educational development in Georgia. She sees "the financial factor" as the most important restraining influence. The panic of 1837 crushed the first feeble efforts of an "enlightened minority," organized in the Georgia Teachers Society, who had "caught the vision of popular education." It was not until 1873 that substantial success was achieved in beginning a free public system of common schools in Georgia.

The book is based on an extensive exploration of original sources. It is to be regretted, however, that the author does not make more of an effort to relate the local developments she treats to the great issues in modern society and education which alone give them meaning. One fails to see the wood for the trees. All the facts are there, but the social, political, and economic forces which explain them are not made clear. This does not, however, preclude a somewhat questionable frame of reference indicated by the author's statement that "the year 1883 was a turning point for the better in many respects" because the Civil Rights Bill was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court (p. 238).

Both Professor Knight and Miss Orr have produced books which should prove useful for workers in educational history, but the former's admirable and scholarly volume is clearly the superior. This is so because it is broadly conceived in terms of its social and intellectual context and displays a firm grasp of the basic patterns in the history of American civilization.

Harvard University

S. WILLIS RUDY

NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1852-1860:  
A STUDY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE.

By *Harold S. Schultz*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 259. \$4.50.)

HAROLD S. Schultz in this book, subtitled *A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence*, declines to say that slavery was the cause of the Civil War. Yet, as by charts, graphs, and vital statistics he shows the correlation between disunionist sentiment and slave ownership, his every finding points to the conclusion that, whether as economic fact or emotional symbol, slavery had become the central issue, the test case for Southern "freedom."

South Carolina in 1850 was like a ship without a captain. Calhoun was dead. The leadership was divided into secessionists and "conditional unionists," united only in the belief that abolitionism would drive the state from the Union. Calhoun had welded the divergent groups into one—by threat of force had striven to compel

Northern recognition of Southern "rights." Now his ends were confused with his means. His call for unity was echoed by the insurgents, not to awe the North into submission but to lead the South into secession.

With lucid style and impeccable scholarship, Professor Schultz throws new light on these little-known years before secession. By implication, he shows the parallel between enforced abolition and enforced civil rights, the Old South and the New, without sanctuary in either political party. His book is more than a study of the secessionist movement; it foreshadows the entire Confederacy. The seeds of death were in the new nation at its birth—in the discords and differences that would rend the Confederacy apart.

Symbolic are the sharp-edged portraits of the warring leaders: the "Harry Hotspur," Lawrence Keitt; the politician, James Orr; the "moderate," Christopher Memminger. Yet Professor Schultz asserts that all South Carolina was hot for conflict, that even "unionists" like Benjamin Perry would have preferred secession to abolition. That great independent, James Louis Petigru, he relegates to a footnote; and of the nonspeaking, nonslaveholding "Plain Folk of the Old South," he says nothing.

Strangely, it is the "fire-eaters," rightfully convinced that abolition would triumph, who emerge as realists. In their own insistence on principle, they knew that compromise was impossible. Moral indignation could not be stilled by law. They were not "lulled" by the Dred Scott decision; the mass fury of the North was what counted. They were unshaken by John Brown's raid; that and the Republican victory only proved their forebodings.

Under the measured moderation of Mr. Schultz's prose, the sweep and excitement of the movement for Southern independence is transposed into a calculated plan of secession. Pistols and bowie knives in Congress, Brooks's assault on Sumner, "bleeding Kansas," the feeling of being "upon a volcano," never become real. Facts are never fused into emotion. No echo of the gunfire over Sumter shatters the peace of these pages.

*West Newbury, Massachusetts*

MARGARET L. COIT

THE OPINIONS OF THE CONFEDERATE ATTORNEYS GENERAL, 1861-1865. Edited by *Rembert W. Patrick*, Professor of Social Sciences and History, University of Florida. With a Foreword by Harold L. Sebring, Justice, Supreme Court of Florida. (Buffalo: Dennis and Company. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 608. \$30.00.)

THIS work, though patently intended as a legal reference, should prove immensely valuable as a source book to students of American history. The Confederate Bureau of Public Printing never got around to publishing the opinions, and they are here printed in complete text for the first time. At the end of the war the manuscript record book was rescued from the general destruction of

Department of Justice records by a Confederate newspaperman, who thirty years later prepared a transcription and index of the opinions for publication but died before completing his arrangements. The New York Public Library, into whose hands the record book subsequently came, published five of the opinions in its *Bulletin* in 1897-1898. A number of the opinions were printed in full or in part in the *War of the Rebellion* (Army and Navy); and the whole range of opinions was discussed by the reviewer in his *Justice in Grey: A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States* (1941), with particular reference to pertinent court decisions and administrative affairs.

The opinions were signed by a succession of attorneys general (Benjamin, Bragg, Watts, and Davis) and one assistant (Keyes), who served at times as acting and as *ad interim* head of the Department of Justice. They are about equally divided between national defense and civil questions. Interesting discussions concerning the relationship between the state and Confederate governments frequently crop out. For the Army, the attorneys were required to differentiate between the militia, state troops, volunteers, and troops of the Provisional Army and of the Regular Army; to discuss sundry aspects of conscription and the liabilities of the government in the impressment of slaves and other property; to advise what compensation should be paid to the loyal owners of property destroyed as a military necessity; and so forth. For the Navy, they discussed such matters as the distribution of prize money, the payment of bounties in the Marine Corps, the pay of captured officers, and whether naval officers were entitled to take out patents on military inventions. They wrote opinions on such miscellaneous subjects as the difference between products of the earth and agricultural products, on what constituted foreign exchange, on taking a census, on import, excise, produce, income and corporation taxes, on the validity of decrees by courts adhering to the United States in occupied areas, on the transition of the postal service from the United States to the Confederate States, on the doctrine of juridical continuity laid down in the Provisional Constitution and the judiciary acts, and on the jurisdiction of civil courts and officers in areas under martial law. The last opinion, looking to the dissolution of the government, was rendered by Davis on April 22, 1865, while the President and his cabinet were in flight from Richmond. This opinion was not recorded, but it, together with the written opinions of the other cabinet officers, including Benjamin, onetime Attorney General, then Secretary of State, was printed in the *War of the Rebellion* (Army, Series I, Volume XLVII, Part 3). The work under review reprints only Davis' opinion.

Professor Patrick has supplied a fourteen-page historical introduction, numerous biographical and explanatory footnotes, and a serviceable index; and he is to be commended for his pains in making this interesting source material available to the reading public. The format is outstanding; on the cover the great seal of the Confederate States is reproduced in gold.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.



HOOD: CAVALIER GENERAL. By *Richard O'Connor*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949. Pp. x, 316. \$4.00.)

A KENTUCKY-born graduate of West Point, John B. Hood obtained military experience on the Indian frontier. Then he surrendered his commission to join the Confederates. As a subordinate commander, he did well on the Peninsula, at second Bull Run, and at Antietam. He lost the use of an arm at Gettysburg, and left a leg at Chickamauga. Nevertheless, he continued as a field commander, partly because he was a favorite of Jefferson Davis. Sent to Georgia, he disagreed with his defense-minded superior, Joseph E. Johnston. When Davis removed Johnston and gave Hood the command, Hood took the offensive, striking Sherman near Atlanta. He was beaten there, and was crushed by Thomas in a later Tennessee command. Other Confederate commanders were also beaten in that last year of the war. Contemporaries, however, felt that another general might have done better in Hood's place, that Hood was not well suited to a top command. Most historians have agreed, and O'Connor, though fairly friendly to his subject, does not seriously dispute this view.

Curiously enough, this is the first biography of Hood. Still more strangely, it adds almost nothing to our knowledge of Hood and his campaigns. The reader of this volume will get from it no clear statement of the larger strategical problems of the war, little understanding of the major campaigns in which Hood was involved, and a confused and unsatisfactory picture of the battles. O'Connor pays too little attention to the problems of supply and administration. (Hood was weak here, and we would like to see how his weakness was related to his military record.) O'Connor feels that Hood was not so rash as some have felt, but includes no very satisfactory analysis of Hood's methods and approach. The qualities of Hood's subordinates are not adequately treated, and Hood himself remains shadowy.

Why these faults? Mainly because the author did not dig deep enough. He dipped into the *Official Records*, but failed to use them to full advantage. He relied heavily on memoirs and secondary works, but overlooked or failed to use a good many valuable books. He used little of the available manuscript material. What is more, his book is written carelessly. It reads pleasantly, but is it sometimes repetitious. Quotations are not exact. There are misspellings and typographical errors. There are no footnotes, and the index is poor.

Those who read Civil War history for enjoyment only may like *Hood: Cavalier General*. But there is little here for the serious student.

*University of Wisconsin*

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON..

LINCOLN COLLECTOR: THE STORY OF OLIVER R. BARRETT'S GREAT PRIVATE COLLECTION. By *Carl Sandburg*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950. Pp. xvi, 344. \$7.50.)

THERE are many reasons for satisfaction in this book: first, because Carl Sandburg, uniquely qualified by friendship, interest, and personal knowledge is its author; second, because Oliver Rogers Barrett was himself available to participate in its preparation; third, because it is a stirring account of a man who might have become a legend and an achievement which may otherwise be lost. Mr. Barrett died suddenly, a few months after the publication of this story; the future of his collection is promising, but by no means yet assured.

The great American collectors have usually been of two kinds, patrons or servants. Mr. Barrett was a great servant. As such, *Lincoln Collector* may be considered (as Mr. Barrett himself happily considered it) an intimation of immortality. For more than fifty years he devoted his life to the assembly of the most extensive, diverse, and important materials associated with Abraham Lincoln and Abraham Lincoln's world ever undertaken by an individual enthusiast. But Mr. Barrett was more than an enthusiast, an amateur; he made himself an outstanding authority and became, in time, the dean of students of the Civil War and the personages who participated in it. Barrett the collector was intelligent, imaginative, and resourceful. He was generally regarded as an outstanding specialist on Lincoln calligraphy and was unexcelled in distinguishing genuine documents from the forgeries which, innocently or otherwise, were forever being brought to his attention. His knowledge of the market and its vagaries was intimate and broad. But his most conspicuous and remarkable successes were attained in the discovery, rescue, and acquisition of records which, almost inevitably, would have been either destroyed or unrecovered. Mr. Sandburg tells of the "old desk letters," "the hot stove letters," "the bonfire letters," and "the carpet bag papers," which, fortunately for history and historians, have escaped oblivion.

In a strict sense, *Lincoln Collector* is not, as the title suggests, a biography. There are in it, to be sure, anecdotal accounts of Mr. Barrett's career; there are references to his boyhood in southern Illinois, his early conversion to the fundamentalist or "Holland school" of Lincolnism, his education and removal to Chicago, his eminent position at the bar, his relations with colleagues and competitors in the preservation and proprietorship of "literary remains" (among them, amusing stories of Barrett's friendships with Henry Clay Folger, Charles Frederick Gunther, and Worthington Chauncey Ford), his family life and personal characteristics. But primarily *Lincoln Collector* is a source book; for the most part the text is composed of transcripts, accompanied by facsimile reproductions, of the more significant or moving items which Mr. Barrett possessed. There are, for example, the magnificent series of letters which Lincoln wrote with unusual but not unnatural confidence to his closest friend, Joshua Fry Speed, an admirable description of the printer's copy of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates consisting of a scrapbook of newspaper clippings extensively revised and corrected in Lincoln's hand, and the Emancipation Proclamation engrossed by a clerk, signed by Lincoln, and attested by William H. Seward. Altogether the Barrett collection contains more

than two hundred documents in Mr. Lincoln's holograph. In addition, it includes letters from Mary Lincoln and their boys; documents relating to the Lincoln forebears; all forms of correspondence with Lincoln's personal circle of acquaintance, his cabinet ministers, his political contemporaries, his military and naval commanders, the contentious and frequently hostile editors who were eager to shape his policies; his assassins and less furtive enemies; his noble adversaries; in short it is densely populated with all the personages who directly or indirectly affected Lincoln's America. Carl Sandburg has presented these startlingly lively records with a poet's pith and pungency, a historian's discipline, and a connoisseur's appreciation.

Mr. Sandburg has not limited himself to the manuscripts, some of which have appeared before. Beyond them he has told of the notable array of newspapers, broadsides, poetic tributes, medals, "covers," and iconographic materials which came Mr. Barrett's way; reprinted in full the burlesque campaign biography entitled *Only Authentic Life of Abraham Lincoln, Alias "Old Abe,"* and described the various objects which embellish the collection.

Among the objects are many museum pieces which reflect Mr. Barrett's critical acumen and perfect awareness of association values: contemporary portraits of Mr. Lincoln, his hunting-case watch, his watch chain of California gold, his spectacles, his pens, his embroidered and monogrammed slippers, his pocket knife, Mary Lincoln's signet ring and her bloodstained fan, the "reserved" sign which was affixed to the presidential box at Ford's Theatre the night of the murder, a page torn from a hotel register reading "J. W. Booth & Lady," and countless others. But if Mr. Barrett was astute he was also sentimental. Only on sentimental grounds can be explained the inclusion of the ax handle with the jackknife inscription "A. LINCOLN/NEW SALEM, 1834," and the stone "dug up" in 1890 with its chiseled legend: "A. LINCOLN/ ANN Rutledge/ were betrothed/ here July 4/ 1833." There are those who suspect that Mr. Barrett neither quite accepted nor quite rejected these dubious memorials, but cherished them not so much because they could be authenticated as because they could not be readily disproved. As a lawyer, he was concerned with negative as well as with positive evidence. With these exceptions, however, there are no apparent weaknesses in the collection. On the contrary, it is of such overwhelming public interest that ways must be found to ensure it against the unthinkable risk of dispersal. To that end Governor Stevenson has recently appointed a committee to raise funds with which to purchase it from the estate for the Illinois State Historical Library. The committee's purpose deserves nation-wide sympathy and substantive support. Meanwhile, we can be grateful to Mr. Sandburg for a work which is, despite its discomfort in classification, in essence an American testament. More than that it is a monument to its three makers.

THE UTOPIAN COMMUNIST: A BIOGRAPHY OF WILHELM WEITLING, NINETEENTH-CENTURY REFORMER. By *Carl Wittke*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 327. \$4.50.)

"Of all the phenomena of the most recent time," wrote Lorenz von Stein in 1848, apropos of communism, "none is at the same time so dreaded and so unknown as this." A century later we still cannot know with assurance the ultimate purposes and immediate plans of present-day communists. History, however, can help us penetrate this iron curtain. Important assistance in doing so is rendered by this admirable scholarly biography of Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871) by Dean Carl Wittke of Western Reserve.

Weitling was a product of the proletarianizing and denationalizing forces which the nineteenth century unloosed upon the Continental artisan. A native of Germany, Weitling had been intellectually conditioned in France, imprisoned in Switzerland, shadowed by the spies of Austria, and exiled in England before he came to the United States in 1847. His social program, expounded between 1839 and 1845, reflected this statelessness. Though he pictured the future in terms borrowed from Fourier and Owen, he lacked the sense of belonging—the desire that every man should strike deep roots in a real community—which made these earlier systems communitarian and antirevolutionary. Instead he incorporated the conspiratorial, class-conscious, revolutionary ideas developed in the secret societies of Paris in the late 1830's, and thus produced the first major system that can be called communistic in the full sense which that word possesses today.

In America Weitling remained the uprooted proletarian propagandist. International in his outlook, he was ready for what Dr. Wittke calls a "barnstorming trip for revolution" in the Germany of 1848. Even after his return in 1849 he clearly looked upon New York not as a new home but as another international metropolis in which he might organize an *Arbeiterbund* and publish a periodical as he had organized and published in so many cities of Europe before. Gradually, however, Weitling felt the pull of communitarianism—the idea, so powerful in America, of using a small experimental community as the means to general social reform. In 1851 he took over, in effect, the four-year-old German-speaking colony of Communia in Iowa, employing for the purpose the funds of his *Arbeiterbund*. By attempting to direct the enterprise partly on the spot and partly from New York, he succeeded only in antagonizing the resident members and involving his larger movement in the fate of the colony, which was on the rocks by the end of 1854. Abruptly Weitling's twenty-year career as an agitator came to an end; he married, settled down at his trade, became a naturalized citizen, and turned his mind to cosmology and mechanical invention.

Dr. Wittke triumphantly surmounts the scholarly problems which such a biography poses. Any sound account of the early history of socialism must pay due attention to both European and American developments, for most of the

major programs—Owen's, Fourier's, Cabet's, and Considerant's, as well as Weitling's—faced their crucial tests in the New World. Dr. Wittke handles with equal authority both parts of the story. His footnotes add up to a comprehensive bibliography of German sources and secondary works on early European socialism (though French works are somewhat scanty), and his skill in threading this maze of controversial writings is impressive proof of his critical discrimination. To the study of Weitling's American career Dr. Wittke brings an unsurpassed background of knowledge concerning immigrant groups and their adjustment to American life. He has ferreted out and ably analyzed the surviving personal manuscripts, and he has studied not only Weitling's own publications but also the German-American press as a whole. One could wish that Dr. Wittke had seen fit to bring together in one place a bibliographical description of all Weitling's published works, particularly the titles, places of publication, and inclusive dates of his various periodicals.

The author has produced not merely a clear and accurate biography but a contribution to the history of ideas as well. From the latter point of view, however, one could desire an ampler treatment of certain points. Though Weitling's own program is clearly summarized and his personal contacts with other socialists duly recorded, the bare statement that his "system clearly shows the influence of Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier, and others" (p. 68) might have been profitably expanded into a discussion of precisely what ideas Weitling derived from each of these predecessors, and what new slant he gave by his particular method of selecting and combining them.

Valuable, too, would have been a more explicit analysis of the modifications that Weitling's ideas underwent during the years from 1849 through 1854, when he was active in a distinctively American context. That his ideas were indeed changing is suggested by his adoption of the communitarian approach at Communia. To what extent did this represent an abatement of his revolutionary fervor? Dr. Wittke's topical treatment of the period (chapters ix–xiii) tends to obscure the answer to questions like these concerning the alteration of Weitling's over-all outlook as he confronted American situations.

Though Weitling's failure at Communia was no more disastrous than those of the Owenites and Fourierists before him, his ideas never entered the main stream of American social thought as theirs to some extent did. That such sincere and prolonged propaganda as Weitling's for a revolutionary solution to social problems should have resulted in nothing of permanent consequence in America is a fact worth pondering. Weitling's career, thoughtfully considered, gives comfort neither to would-be American social revolutionists nor to superpatriots who believe the republic endangered by every foreign ism that is allowed a hearing on our shores.

*University of Illinois*

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

PINE LOGS AND POLITICS: A LIFE OF PHILETUS SAWYER, 1816-1900.

By *Richard Nelson Current*, May Treat Morrison Professor of American History in Mills College. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1950. Pp. 330. \$4.00.)

A FULL-fledged biography of a true national figure and not a type study of a local celebrity, this life of Philetus Sawyer will become a must item for students of American politics. Lacking the benefits of either schooling or a tutelary saint, the lumberman-senator may be regarded as in every way a self-made man. Although he developed neither a facile tongue nor an easy pen, he was not illiterate, nor did he, as some claimed, sign his name with a small "p." He had to "buy his time" from his father to become a free agent before attaining his majority. It proved a good investment, for, at twenty-one, he owned a sawmill in upstate New York. He married at twenty-four. Foreseeing a decline in Empire State logging, he bought a farm near Rosendale, Wisconsin, but soon returned to lumbering, this time in the Wolfe River area. Weathering the panic of 1857, he prospered and added banking and railroad promotion to his business ventures. Shrewd and cautious, he occasionally resorted to such practices as collusive bidding and holding companies.

Having gained political experience as mayor of Oshkosh and as a state legislator, he was sent by the Republicans to Congress in 1864. A thorough party regular, a hard worker and a skillful manipulator of parliamentary rules, he soon became one of a half-dozen men controlling the House and probably the "ace logroller." Later, during two terms in the Senate, the same characteristics gained him even greater influence.

Aware of impending party reverses, he retired to his business in 1874, but he never lost touch with Badger State politics. Soon he found himself the rival of E. W. Keyes, for a score of years Republican boss of the state. The defeat of Matt Carpenter for re-election to the Senate in 1875 was the first indication of the old czar's diminishing influence. The reviewer would, in this instance, place greater stress upon the lawyer-senator's limitations. President Hayes's "Order, No. 1," designed to divorce public office and party work, was the force which put Keyes permanently off-balance, because he had to resign the state party chairmanship in order to keep his postmastership. During the late seventies, traditional bossism gave way to the barrel, but the author argues convincingly that money alone did not turn the tide in Sawyer's favor. The qualities of a curbstone statesman also contributed substantially to his prestige. After he defeated Keyes for the Senate in 1881, he was in supreme command for over a decade.

"Old Saw Logs" could manage party regulars but not insurgents. What had been tension between him and Robert La Follette became open hostility when the latter publicly accused the senator of an attempt to bribe him. The known facts are given in full, but, very properly, the reader must draw his own con-



clusions. A political power until the end, Sawyer spent his last years as the "Grand Old Man" of Oshkosh.

Captions to all chapters show that the political sagacity of James Bryce contributed to the author's excellent political comprehension. Eighteen pages of well-selected illustrations and an attractive book format bespeak the generous support of the publisher.

State College of Washington

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER: CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1888-1910. By Willard L. King. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. x, 394. \$5.00.)

THIS is in every respect an admirable book.

Fuller's pre-judicial years are treated as a mere introduction to the later years. Though excellent for that purpose, they are tantalizingly brief. He came on both sides from families of education and prominence, and received a college education. His youth was passed under responsible and sobering conditions. Literary tastes, coupled with activities in journalism and public speaking that began in pre-college years, gave him a precocious facility in expression. This gave him early political prominence both in Maine and Chicago; later, when years of argument in court had pruned ornateness from his style, there was left a residuum of easy brilliance in conversation and casual addresses. At twenty-three he left one frontier for another, dropping seemingly with complete contentment into Chicago's ebullient life (1856). He immediately became active in politics and was soon a lieutenant of Stephen A. Douglas. His defense of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and violent denunciation of the Emancipation Proclamation weighed later against his confirmation as Chief Justice (pp. 41-56, 116, 120).

Mr. King reveals that he had earlier become a trusted friend and adviser of President Cleveland (pp. 98-104). He gives additional light on Roosevelt's desire to supplant Fuller with Taft (pp. 302-306). Laymen will find the few pages on the Insular Cases (pp. 262-77) clear and illuminating; likewise those on the meaning of "direct taxes" (pp. 193-204, 212-13). Fuller's historical research on the latter question was of high quality; that underlying his dissent in *Downes v. Bidwell* (p. 265) is much less satisfactory.

Changes of a judge's views or vote before publication are concededly neither discreditable nor undesirable. Mr. King has discovered such changes in various cases, including *Lochner v. New York* (pp. 145, 174, 182, 211n., 297, 315, 316). Are changes on rehearing reprehensible? Controversies over this aspect of the Dred Scott case and the income tax case (pp. 206, 218-20) were completely irrational.

Mr. King extirpates doubts of Fuller's influence within the Court. He shows

that in cases involving procedure Fuller led it, that his influence upon decisions in other fields was considerable, and that as the Court's executive his success was brilliant.

Mr. King's general judgment on him is that "he did not lack talents, but his character surpassed his intellect in significance" (p. 23).

This was clearly true of his executive contribution to the Supreme Court. He was orderly, methodical, industrious, attentive to details. He was charming, lovable, wholly unselfish, and infinitely tactful. He had always striven to remain friendly with opponents and enemies; and at bitter cost (pp. 42, 79, 88, 91) he had learned to lessen enmities by moderating the expression of his opinions. Men who voluntarily assume heavy responsibilities must have great self-confidence. In those over whom Fuller presided this was occasionally united with jealousy, hot temper, or obstinacy, even vindictiveness. He won their good will collectively by wisely and with complete impersonality assigning cases. He won them individually with his lovable personality and by utilizing every possible approach to sympathetic extrajudicial relations with each. He then strove to maintain general harmony in conference; insisted that dissents be respectful; mediated to secure elimination of irritating words from all opinions. He could be absolutely firm against stubbornness, patient with senility, incredibly forbearing with a reporter's inefficiency. With a smile and joke he could deflect a threatened bolt of wrath.

Justice Miller and Justice Holmes pronounced him the best presiding judge under whom they had respectively served, and that included every chief justice from Taney to Hughes, both included.

*University of Pennsylvania*

F. S. PHILBRICK

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA: THE REVOLT AGAINST FORMALISM. By *Morton G. White*. (New York: Viking Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 260. \$3.50.)

IN his *Revolt against Formalism* Professor Morton White has achieved a work with so many facets of excellence that a brief review can scarcely do it justice. For one thing his study is a model of a kind of history of thought too infrequently attempted by historians. In his study of liberal ideas from 1880 to 1930 he does not try to make a compendious survey of the liberal literature in that period. Instead he selects for study the five great intellectual pillars of liberal thought—Holmes, Dewey, Veblen, Robinson, and Beard. But he does not study them in isolation from one another, devoting a section to a systematic essay on the "ideas" of each one. Instead he breaks his investigation of the revolt against formalism into four semichronological divisions—the early foundations, the pre-World War I apogee, the war period, and the twenties. He is thus able to lay bare the general configuration of liberal thought in each period by establishing the complex and subtle filiations that bound these five leaders together in that period. This is a performance

of no small difficulty. Many of us remember what a *Nation-New Republic* liberal was like, particularly if we were one ourselves, but like most people we were not conscious of the whole pattern of which our particular opinions were a part. To reveal that pattern, both in its intellectual coherences and in its inconsistencies, to trace its development for half a century as it was reflected in the work of five of its idols, to show the shape of their thought in connection with the events of their time evokes without overextending Professor White's high skill as a philosopher and a historian. The result of his careful probing to the roots of liberal thought is worth ten "histories of ideas" that treat men's intricate conceptions as if they were a set of disjointed laundry lists without interrelation, order, quality, or intensity. By the same token it is worth a hundred of those exercises in the genealogy of ideas that fail to distinguish between genuine and vital connections of thought and the inevitable similarities of phrasing and catchwords that result from the fact that intellectuals in any one country at any one time are likely to read many of the same books and speak much the same language.

To pass from so brief and inadequate a report on the great merits of Professor White's study to a few minor criticisms may seem unjust, but the work's very excellence, which can only be appreciated justly through reading it, almost dictates this procedure. Professor White in his analysis of the revolt against formalism has marked up two traits as common to the thought of his five liberal leaders—organicism and historicism. Although he makes a number of incisive criticisms of the thought of each leader, he does not touch on the deficiencies of their organicism which when it suggests that all human phenomena of the present are intimately related to each other and to past events is partly untrue and partly banal, and which when it leans heavily on the "economic factor" shirks the obligation of determining what facts should be classified as economic and why.

Professor White is himself a little unhappy about the term "historicism" as applied to his liberals, and the reviewer is even more unhappy, since as White defines the term—"the attempt to explain facts by earlier facts"—it sweeps in too many men who were not at all in the tradition he is dealing with and since it obscures to Professor White a significant connection of liberal thought in the early twentieth century. After all, what Holmes, Dewey, Veblen, Beard, and Robinson with varying fidelity believed was that history was a record of human error whose study was presumably of use in enabling us to avoid the mistakes of the past and shake off its dead hand. And so Professor White's great liberals in a sense have an attitude toward the study of history surprisingly like that of those industrious historians, the philosophers of the eighteenth century, who have never yet been charged with "historicism." And that brings us to our final point. By associating the liberal tradition so closely with his five great protagonists White at once overspecifies its content and reduces its scope. After all, that tradition is a great deal older and broader than the 1880's and incorporates not only White's Big Five but contemporaries of theirs who did not worship at all their altars, and

Mill and Bentham and John Locke whom they so vigorously repudiated. To recognize this is to take some of the pathos out of the dying fall with which White bids farewell to his liberal giants. Perhaps he is right that for the moment there seems to be none to take their place. Yet even now a few are reaching for their mantle while repudiating them and denying them their true worth, and if young men of the new generation seem both a bit too small for the garb they would don and peculiarly oblivious to the stature of an older and better generation, they come by both failings honestly. For that generation itself was unduly oblivious to the merits of its own predecessors (Mill, for example) and this failing may be more or less inherent in the nature of the liberal temper. And if today's liberals seem rather small, this may be because the tradition itself is so great that its current occupants at any moment always fail to measure quite up to it. After all is it not of the very essence of a great and living tradition that it should transcend its adherents at any particular moment?

*Queens College, New York*

J. H. HEXTER

LABOR IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949. Pp. 402. \$4.50.)

This book is primarily about trade unions, not labor in general. For example, it has little to say about the rise of labor legislation, the battles over workmen's compensation, hours of work, minimum wage legislation, and the philosophical and political battles that lay behind this legislation. There are brief references to a few famous cases, such as *Lochner v. New York*, and *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, but no rounded treatment of labor legislation. Hence it is as a history of trade unionism that the book must be appraised.

It is the most lucid and most interestingly written report of the development of trade unionism in the United States that has thus far appeared. But the book is essentially a chronicle; it undertakes little interpretation and explanation, and the reader gains from it little insight into the conditions that have molded the trade union movement in this country, that have given it its distinctive characteristics, or that have brought about changes in it. The author describes some of the conditions that might have been expected to spur men to organize. But the fact of the matter is that men did not organize—by the beginning of the century less than ten per cent of the industrial workers belonged to unions. All of this is very confusing. The reader needs an explanation of why men did *not* organize, but what he gets is a good description of conditions that might be expected to produce trade unions. Not discussed are the important conditions that made most workers indifferent to joining unions—the fact that wages in the United States seemed fabulously high to recent arrivals from abroad, that real wages were advancing rapidly (doubling about every thirty to forty years), and that opportunities to advance in the rapidly expanding industrial labor force were excellent. These workers,

whose real wages were rising faster than had ever happened in human history and whose hours of work were dropping, are described by Mr. Dulles as "almost helpless pawns in the hands of corporate employers"!

An understanding of the influences molding the trade union movement is promoted if one distinguishes a few principal stages in the development of unions. Unfortunately, Mr. Dulles does not do this. It is illuminating, I think, to distinguish the grass roots stage, the era of the dominance of the national union and of the A. F. of L. settlement (that is, the terms of living together that governed relations among national unions after the formation of the A. F. of L.), and the era of government encouragement of trade unionism. Until the eighties the trade union movement was pretty largely a grass roots affair. Organization was not centrally directed or supported, it grew up locally. The period of the eighties marked the rise of the national unions, and for the next fifty years the trade union movement ceased to be a grass roots growth. The dominance of the national union was assisted by the growing opposition of employers to unions. In the face of this opposition, grass roots organizing became more and more difficult and the trade union movement came more and more under the control of the national unions. A distinctive characteristic of trade union structure in the United States has been the few unions existing outside of national unions, in contrast with the multitude of local and regional unions in Great Britain or in Australia.

The dominance of the national union plus the strength and hostility of employers led the union movement here to develop some distinctive basic policies. For example, in contrast to the British principle that no union has the exclusive right to organize a given category of workers, American unions developed the doctrine of exclusive jurisdiction—namely, that there can be only one legitimate union in a given field. The implementation of this principle was one of the basic purposes of the A. F. of L.

A new stage in the development of trade unionism was introduced by the decision of the government to protect the right to organize. The beginnings of this change in public policy are found in the Railway Labor Act of 1926. The new policy was reflected in the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 and reached its peak a little later with the passage of the Wagner Act. The impact of the new public policy upon trade unions was terrific, because the new policy undermined the well-established principle of exclusive jurisdiction upon which the A. F. of L. had operated for nearly fifty years. The new public policy was based upon the principle that workers are entitled to be represented by bargaining agents of their own choosing, not by the bargaining agent that would fit into the division of territory represented by the charters of the A. F. of L. affiliates. The government protection of the right to organize produced a resurgence of grass roots unionism. Men organized throughout the country on their own initiative and without paying attention to established boundary lines within unions. The existence of some well-established unions, such as the glass-bottle blowers or flint

glass workers, was threatened—they were in danger of losing the men in their industries to new unions. The A. F. of L. was too old and its policies too well established to permit it to adapt itself quickly to the conditions created by the new public policy. The result was the rise of the C.I.O. The intervention of the government to protect the right to organize and the shift in policy from tolerating organization to encouraging it marks a new phase in the history of trade unionism in the United States.

The chaotic relations between trade unions created by the government policy of protecting and encouraging organization suggests that possibly a fourth phase in the history of trade unionism is beginning, namely, the phase of government regulation of the activities of trade unions. A small example will illustrate the problem. Suppose Union A wins bargaining rights in a plant, but Union B pickets the plant or boycotts the products of the plant in order to compel the employer to deal with it. Union B is attempting to compel the employer to violate the law. It is challenging the government-guaranteed right of workers to be represented through unions of their own choosing.

This sort of thing has happened often enough so that there is real reason to believe that the basic public policy of merely encouraging men to organize cannot survive without important modifications. To it must be added the policy of controlling many of the activities of trade unions. The policy of encouraging trade unions modifies the essential nature of trade unions. It converts them from private clubs into quasi-public organizations. For example, if a union is given the exclusive right to represent a class of workers in a plant or on a railroad, is it permitted to continue to exclude Negroes and to deny Negroes a voice in determining the policies of the union that has the exclusive right to represent the Negroes? The Supreme Court has said that the railroad firemen must conscientiously represent all workers in the bargaining unit. The Court has not gone so far as to say that the firemen's union must open its door to all workers in the bargaining unit. But can the union conscientiously represent employees to whom it denies membership? Is not the government bound to control the admission requirements of the unions to which it gives exclusive bargaining rights?

The problems created by the new public policy of protecting the right to organize are still unsettled. The old policy of exclusive jurisdiction, upon which the A. F. of L. was built, is gone forever. American trade unions are not prepared to adopt the British policy of tolerance, namely, that no union has exclusive jurisdictional claims but that unions should not seek to take away each other's members. It looks as if the government protection of the right will cause trade unions in the United States to engage in a sort of government-regulated competition for members.

One reads Mr. Dulles' book with pleasure and considerable profit. But one does not put it down with the conviction that one has gained from it new understanding of what makes the trade union movement what it is, new insight into the relation-



ship between the American environment and the kind of unionism that has developed here, a new capacity to judge current trends in the trade union movement. Mr. Dulles' book stands above all other trade union histories in the pleasantness of its style and in its readability. An interpretative history of trade unionism in the United States has still to be written.

*Harvard University*

SUMNER H. SLICHTER

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS: PERSONALITIES AND FORCES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By *Charles A. Madison*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. ix, 474. \$4.00.)

AMONG the leaders of American industrial life few wield more power than the men who direct the activities of the 15,000,000 organized workers of the nation. The influence they exert and the decisions they make often far overshadow the power of political and business leaders. Mr. Madison, college book editor for Holt and Company, does not hesitate to pass judgment on labor leaders as he discusses them in connection with the growth of their unions. Among the early leaders, Sylvis of the Iron Molders and Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World are given a high rating, but Stephens and Powderly are held responsible for many mistakes of the Knights of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is pitied because of its concern with narrow craft business unionism under Gompers, Green, and Hutcheson. David Dubinsky receives some praise but is criticized as being "fanatically anticommunist." The success of the United Mine Workers is credited to Mitchell and Lewis, but the latter is described as "a rugged and rapacious individualist—. . . and what he cannot rule he is ready to ruin." The activities of the railroad brotherhoods are described in dealing with the work of Alexander F. Whitney. The leadership of the C.I.O. is pictured in a favorable light, although concern is expressed over the business union tendencies of Murray and Reuther. Highest praise is reserved for Hillman and Bridges.

Mr. Madison evaluates labor leaders on the basis of their success in obtaining immediate benefits for workers and in preparing "them for the realization of the cooperative commonwealth." He is severely critical of the current drive to oust Communists from labor unions and defends Harry Bridges against the charges of communism and falsification in citizenship application. The discussion of Bridges' attitude toward American participation in World War II leaves the impression that Bridges changed his views after Pearl Harbor. Such an impression is erroneous, for Bridges actually was demanding aid for the foes of Hitler within a month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The author's generalizations and his evaluation of the various leaders of organized labor cause the reader to question his general competence in American history and to suspect that this is labor history written from a point of view that is decidedly left of center. Quotations average nearly one per page but sources are not provided. The

chapter by chapter bibliography includes mainly printed materials and gives only indefinite help in identifying the sources of the author's information.

*University of Cincinnati*

GEORGE B. ENGBERG

CANADA. Edited by *George W. Brown*, Professor of History in the University of Toronto. [United Nations Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 621. \$6.50.)

THIS volume is one of the best that has yet appeared in the "United Nations Series" edited by Robert J. Kerner. Under the careful editorial supervision of George W. Brown, more than a score of Canadians, of whom only two have wandered off into the academic groves of the United States, have combined their efforts to produce a book on Canada as seen by Canadians, of which all the contributors may be justly proud.

Opening chapters on the geography and population of the multiracial and bilingual Dominion are followed by a brilliant, short survey of Canada's history from early French days to the present. Part III presents an analysis, by geographical areas, of the Canadian economy and its peculiar sensitivity to changes in the United States and the United Kingdom. Part IV surveys the Canadian constitutional system and describes the actual operation of government and parties, including local government. Part V is primarily concerned with education, religion, the fine arts, and Canada's cultural dependence on the United States, with Hollywood movies "the shock-troops of American culture." The chapter on education is excellent and the section on religion is extremely well written but skirts rather gingerly around the controversies between what is described as the "virtual theocracy" of Quebec and the rest of Canada and puts perhaps more of the blame for the trouble between French and English Canadians than is necessary on the fighting Orangemen. The last section of the book considers Canada's peculiar relationship to both Europe and North America, the problems of foreign trade and her dependence on both the dollar and the pound, and details the Dominion's role in the international organizations in recent years when Canada's position in the North American triangle became increasingly important strategically and her people learned that security was impossible without a readiness to stand by specific international commitments.

Some of the common experiences of Canada and the United States in recent decades are especially interesting to American readers. In both countries, the two major parties have been forced to adopt a campaign strategy of "me-too-ism," for both are complex, composite organizations. The Liberal party, which "divides Canada least," is the only effective nation-wide organization today. Both countries need two fairly well-balanced parties for a healthy political life, but how to get them has become a major problem. All Canadian parties profess to be progressive, support programs for social security, and move steadily toward "socialism" while

repeating the old ritualistic incantations about "free enterprise." The trend is unmistakably toward a "welfare state," which more and more people on both sides of the line look upon as the "universal intervener," and the advance of collectivism under federal leadership is limited only by the rigidity of existing constitutional systems. In both countries these issues are being faced empirically, not theoretically, for they are the results of modern industrial society.

A co-operative enterprise such as this book represents cannot avoid some repetition, and a topical treatment lacks some of the virtues of a smooth-running historical narrative. Some questions, like the Manitoba separate schools and the present regime in Quebec, although referred to in several places, are never quite completely handled. There is no reference whatsoever to the attack by Duplessis on civil liberties in a province where, in the words of one of the authors, "church and state . . . are close to being one" (p. 480). Several references to the United States are clever but not entirely accurate, and one wonders in what sense Canada is "more radical" than her southern neighbor (p. 299) and why American Italians should be cited as having special influence on the foreign policy of the United States (p. 488). But these are minor matters. The book is in every way a credit to Canadian scholarship and should be widely read by all who wish to understand modern Canada and her relations to the world beyond her borders.

*Western Reserve University*

CARL WITTKÉ

HISTOIRE DU CANADA FRANÇAIS (1534-1763). By *Claude de Bonnault*, Conseiller historique de la Province de Québec. [Colonies et Empires: Collection internationale de documentation coloniale. Première série: Études coloniales, 6.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1950. Pp. 346. 600 fr.)

PROFESSOR Ch.-André Julien of the Faculty of Letters, Paris, is directing an ambitious project, now three quarters completed. It is the production of some forty volumes, divided into five series: "Colonial Studies," "The Classics of Colonization," "History of French Expansion and Colonization," "Geography of the French Union," and "Arts and Literature." But this particular volume will be a disappointment to those who are familiar with the history of New France and are not devotees of a narrow French Canadian nationalism. Bonnault, who is an old-country Frenchman employed in Paris by the Quebec Archives, treats his subject in the spirit of a French Canadian whose sole interest in the history of his country is the glorification of his "race."

Only by very old-fashioned standards is this a history of New France. It is the story of the rise and fall of the French Empire in America, and as such it is filled with fighting in which French Canadians stand out as wonderful heroes. In praising them the author often overshoots the mark. He exults in the fact that they commonly fought like their savage allies, scalping and indulging in indiscriminate slaughter; and he gloats over the terror they thus spread among the English

colonists. He goes into raptures over French victories, great and small, with little or no explanation of them, other than Canadian valor; and he curtly dismisses French reverses with even less understanding. Of sea power and its effect upon the struggle in America, he seems to know almost nothing. He actually states that France wrested naval supremacy from the English in 1756. In short, he writes of wars without comprehending them.

Indian relations are an important factor in the history of New France, and native tribes troop across the pages of this book; but here they appear as insubstantial moving shadows. Equally vague is Bonnault's knowledge of the fur trade, which was vital to the French Empire on this continent. To the French exploration of the interior, a grand achievement, he makes only meager scattered references. How little he has studied it may be judged by one egregious blunder. La Vérendrye père is made to travel through what are now the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta where he never set foot. There is no discussion of the institutions of New France, religious, political, or economic, and no account whatever of how the habitant lived.

Following French Canadian tradition, Bonnault is a severe critic of Old France for neglecting the interests of New France, and a warm champion of the Canadian-born Vaudreuil against the French-born Montcalm. But in one interesting particular he departs from this tradition. Instead of joining in the general chorus against Bigot for corruption that hastened the fall of New France, he lauds him as a great intendant whose genius postponed for two or three years the capitulation of Canada. Here one may see the influence, which is unacknowledged, of the late Adam Shortt's researches.

Otherwise there is not much evidence that Bonnault is conversant with the contributions of recent scholars. His bibliography omits important modern works and lists items that are not worthy of inclusion. His text is innocent of footnotes, evidently out of deference to popular taste. Those who relish good French historical writing will be irritated by his style, which is inflated, flighty, and jerky. The story he tells could be presented much more effectively in a volume less than half the size of this.

*University of Minnesota*

A. L. BURT

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CANADA. By *Catherine Lyle Cleverdon*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 324. \$4.50.)

THE enfranchisement of women provides material for a slow-paced but interesting chronicle of an important phase of recent Canadian history. Suffrage came to the women of Canada "almost by stealth, certainly not as an army with banners," in contrast with the hard-won victory in this country and England. It is significant that the first systematic recital of this achievement should be made by an American woman, albeit with a sprinkling of Canadian ancestors.

Although the federal franchise was granted Canadian women in 1918, the

all-important provincial franchise had to be won province by province. In this movement Ontario led the fight, but the prairie provinces won the earliest victories. Between 1916 and 1925 the women of British Columbia, Ontario, and the Maritime Provinces joined the ranks of the fully enfranchised. Only Quebec held out, and there a bitter contest was waged between the feminists with their labor and Liberal allies, and a coalition of diehard Conservatives and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, led by Cardinal Villeneuve, which did not end until 1944. For twenty-five years Quebec women had a voice in the selection of their parliamentary representatives but none regarding their local officials. One wonders that the federal franchise did not prove a sharper tool for ending such an anomaly; but apparently the apathy of the rural women, added to Cardinal Villeneuve's disciplined control of his Catholic flock, was sufficient to blunt even this weapon.

Mrs. Cleverdon has compiled a play-by-play account of the attainment of statutory political equality. She interviewed many of the *dramatis personae*, examined collections of private papers, and made a painstaking study of the provincial press as well as the official records. Her book preserves, therefore, some valuable and highly perishable data. If she is concerned primarily with the political aspects of the struggle, it appears that the battle consisted mainly of such maneuvers. The organized feminists never comprised so large and representative a group, nor were they deployed so effectively over the terrain by able tacticians as in this country and in England. Nor was there the expert indoctrination which fused intellectual purpose with moral fervor, and almost none of the furious energy derived from a deep conviction of a grievance grounded in a sense of power. One of the suffrage leaders aptly characterized it as "always a struggle, never a fight."

Mrs. Cleverdon fingers her material somewhat too tentatively. Her book would have gained greatly in emphasis with sharper characterization, for which material was abundantly present. The reader senses that the Nellie McClungs and Emily Stowes were redoubtable women; that Mme Casgrain was as clever as she was beautiful; and that the cardinal appeared little short of diabolical to his opponents; but they remain vague and shadowy personages.

The suffrage movement in democratic countries always provides a meaningful angle from which to view the dominant characteristics of a nation. While Mrs. Cleverdon has not fully availed herself of her opportunity in this respect, her book adds an interesting chapter for readers already acquainted with the main outlines of Canadian history. For those without a well-defined knowledge of Canada's sectional and racial differences, with their consequent religious and political cleavages, it will be less illuminating.

*Washington, D. C.*

LOUISE M. YOUNG

AMERICA LA BIEN LLAMADA. Volume I, LA CONQUISTA DE OCCIDENTE; Volume II, BAJO LA CRUZ DEL SUR. By *Roberto Levillier*.

(Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillermo Kraft. 1948. Pp. xxxii, 294; 401. 40 pesos.)

AGAIN the Vespucci problem comes back! This time it may well be for its final appearance. Since the days of Las Casas, the Florentine, whose name the New World bears, has been the object of the most varied opinions, ranging from the highly laudatory to the most uncomplimentary, and his exploits in the Age of Discovery and his reports thereof, the subject of the most divergent interpretations, covering the whole gamut between the extremes of fact and fiction. No one of these satisfies the present author; hence, this extensive and most enlightening study.

The Argentine scholar resorts to an approach hitherto too little used in the attempt to find the truth about Vespucci—a thorough study of the early cartography of the Americas. The author does not seek to turn Vespucci into the greatest pilot of the age nor even to make a top-ranking hero of him; he is content to show his man a trustworthy reporter, whose writings merit credence, and this almost solely on the basis of what the maps of the time show concerning the growth of geographic knowledge of the New World. The author's thesis might be put in words to this effect: If Vespucci did not report what actually happened, how could the first cartographers draw the maps which they did, often so amazingly accurate, and at a time when they did, and whence comes the nomenclature which they employed in a day when sources of information, other than the Vespucci materials, were not yet available?

The author holds for the authenticity of the 1497-1498 voyage, as reported by Vespucci in the account of July 18, 1500, and in the so-called *Lettera* of 1504 to Pier Soderini. He believes that Solís, rather than Pinzón captained the expedition; that, on the evidence of the early maps (La Cosa, Caneiro, Cantino, and others), the coastline of the northern continent was run from Costa Rica to a point in the neighborhood of the Carolinas or perhaps even Virginia. This fact justifies the author's title. Waldseemüller made no mistake; he was not "taken in" by trickery when he assigned the Florentine reporter's name to the land mass beyond the islands which Columbus had discovered. Even less injustice would seem to have been done the Genoese in view of Vespucci's subsequent exploits, which, the author contends, made him most probably the first of Europeans to recognize that Columbus had, in very truth, stumbled not upon the Orient but upon a *Novus Mundus*.

Levillier makes a careful analysis of the 1499-1500 voyage, which was captained by Ojeda and in which Vespucci participated as one of the pilots. At this time he is the discoverer of Brazil, at the tip of the "bulge." From Cabo São Roque he pushed several degrees farther south before doubling back to run the north coast, pass the mouth of the Amazon, and rejoin the Ojeda party beyond the Guianas. Vespucci saw Brazil several months in advance of Pinzón, De Lepe, and Cabral.

In the second volume the author's principal point is to show Vespucci as the discoverer of the Río de la Plata and of the Patagonian coast as far south as 45°,



the point at which the Río de Cananor must be located. This was accomplished on the Portuguese-sponsored voyage of 1501-1502—Vespucci's "third." The Río de Jordán of the early maps is the great river of the south, the Plata; Cananea and Cananor are not to be confounded, as many have done, the first being in latitude 25° south and the latter twenty degrees farther on; Pinachullo Detentio is what moderns know as the Cerro de Montevideo. And to back these claims is the evidence of the early maps.

Such are the salient points of the study. There are excellent chapters on the Portuguese voyages down the African coast, the background of the Tordesillas line, the Cabral visit to Brazil, the historical setting of the Treaty of Zaragoza, and other topics cognate to the early American story. The work is profusely illustrated with reproductions of the known maps of the early period. Many of the notes go far beyond mere references and become little gems of historiographical and cartographical evaluation. In the appendixes of each volume the author has included the significant documents.

The work is a fine piece of careful scholarship, in the very best Levillier tradition. The author may not have written the last word on all the points which he studies, but, certainly, no future writer can afford to approach these problems without thoroughly acquainting himself with this significant work. And historical geographers of the Americas, too, will find many a point which will force a re-evaluation and reconsideration of "established opinions."

*St. Louis University*

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON, S. J.

MEXICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND BREAD. By *Frank Tannenbaum*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xiv, 293, xi. \$3.50.)

IN this excellent study of the history of Mexico in the twentieth century, from the end of the Díaz regime to the post-World War II era, the author, a specialist in economic and social history, presents a dramatic and valuable analysis of the shifting scene in Mexico. Having traveled extensively in Mexico over the years since 1921, as well as in other areas of Latin America about which he has published many earlier works, the author brings into high relief the problems of education, property, labor, and social and economic progress against a background of revolution, political struggles, and an emerging socialist state. The diplomatic struggle with the United States in the chaotic period following 1912, including the border war and invasion of 1916, following Pancho Villa's raid on New Mexico, is presented in full.

The volume starts with an excellent analysis of the geography of Mexico and a study of its people. The long stretch of its history is treated, from the pre-Spanish era of early Indian settlers, the growth of civilizations, the conquest, the long years of Spanish rule, the achievement of independence, and the troubled years of the nineteenth century under the rule of such men as Antonio López de

Santa Anna, Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz. The age of Díaz, as a period of dictatorship, is briefly but clearly set forth.

Following this introductory summary the author presents the revolutionary era from 1910 to 1946, from the days of Francisco Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Luís González Obregón, Plutarco Calles, Ortiz Rubio, Abelardo Rodríguez, Lázaro Cárdenas, to the shift which occurred with the election of General Manuel Ávila Camacho, and his successor, the candidate of the People's party, Miguel Alemán, in 1946. Labor unions, including the C.R.O.M., peasant leagues, and the regular trade unions are given full treatment. The advance in education, growth of democracy and equality, regardless of race, are properly stressed against a background of possible revolution and graft and corruption in public office. Socialization of industry, government ownership, the struggle between church and state, and the wide sweep of economic progress are adequately treated, with a detailed analysis of state income and the national debt. The work concludes with a study of United States-Mexican relations from the early period of United States intervention, in the era of Woodrow Wilson, down to the present, with proper stress on the oil controversy and Mexico's role in the Pan American movement, the good neighbor policy, World War II, the Treaty of Chapultepec, the Inter-American Defense Board, growing out of the Rio de Janeiro agreement of 1947, and Mexico's part in a possible new international organization to maintain peace in the troubled period following World War II.

Despite its general excellence the book lacks a bibliography, and is completely devoid of footnotes and citations to source materials. The general reading public will undoubtedly read the book with avidity but the scholar who wants to be guided to the source materials will read it and look elsewhere for bibliographical aids.

*University of Michigan*

ARTHUR S. AITON

THE AMERICAS: THE SEARCH FOR HEMISPHERE SECURITY. By *Laurence Duggan*. Foreword by Herschel Brickell. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 242. \$3.00.)

EVERYONE who knew the late Laurence Duggan respected him and a great many of them, including many Latin Americans, felt affection for him as well. He combined in rare manner the virtues of an able public servant and a sincere friend of humanity. As he was a major contributor to the development of the good neighbor policy from its origin until his retirement from the Department of State in 1944, what he has to say on that subject is of great value. The chronicle of our relations with Latin America during these years and the parallel development of the inter-American system are presented here with a sure hand, subordinating detail and emphasizing the major developments. The introductory section of the book, which sketches the social, economic, and political background of Latin America, tends on the whole to be conventional and suggests one reason for the

point of view presented in the latter portion which deals with the present and the future. Like most Americans, Duggan held a negative view of the colonial inheritance of Hispanic America and accepted, somewhat uncritically, the theory that all the ills of the region could be ascribed to that inheritance, which produced a landowning oligarchy and a predatory ecclesiastical hierarchy against which democratic and popular movements struggled with great difficulty. However plausible that view may be, it oversimplifies Latin-American civilization and, in part, explains an overoptimistic view of the future of democracy in these republics.

The final section of the book outlines a very praiseworthy blueprint for raising the standard of living in the area by means of selective encouragement of industrialization, and by what seems to be a premonition of the Point Four program, which was not announced until after the author's untimely death. I wish that I had Duggan's faith in the inevitable development of a democratic and free society as a consequence of the long-range economic program he outlines, which, in itself, has a great deal to be said for it. If all this will bring democracy, why is Argentina, the most highly developed state in Latin America from the economic point of view, at present an outstanding example of the willingness of its people (or at least a large majority of them) to sacrifice liberty and democracy for a paternalistic and nationalist government run on the Führer principle—in order to enjoy the crumbs that fall from the table of the ruling elements in that country?

An outstanding contribution in Duggan's book is his explanation of the Welles decision at Rio de Janeiro in 1942. If fully substantiated it goes far toward exonerating Welles and throws a distinct suspicion of insincerity, to say the least, on the pertinent sections of the *Memoirs of Cordell Hull*. An outstanding weakness of the book, as I see it, is Duggan's acceptance of "nonintervention" as a glorious revolution in American foreign policy without ever really defining it. Strangely enough, the activities of Welles in Cuba in 1933 are held up here for approval as examples of nonintervention. Elsewhere Duggan says that Latin Americans know intervention when they see it, and he attacks the view that it means little unless narrowly defined as the unilateral use of armed force. One wonders how the Cubans would define the case mentioned.

This volume is an important contribution to the literature of inter-American relations. It is weakened by the fact that though written in 1945 it did not reach the public until four years later. This accounts for the disregard of some postwar developments which readers will notice. It would have been impossible for the friends and collaborators of the author, who saw the manuscript through the press, to have avoided this omission without rewriting the book. *The Americas: The Search for Hemisphere Security* is "must" reading for students of inter-American affairs. It is, however, both more and less than a factual record and synthesis. It is at the same time an intensely personal presentation of ideas and principles which the author held very dear.

*University of Wisconsin*

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

## General History

EUROPE AND A WIDER WORLD, 1415-1715. By *J. H. Parry*, Professor of Modern History in the University College of the West Indies, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 31, General History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 200, \$1.60.) As Professor Parry writes, "One of the most striking features of the history of the last two hundred years has been the dominant influence exerted by Europeans outside Europe." It is his purpose to show how "the foundations of European dominance were prepared in the fifteenth century and firmly laid in the sixteenth and the seventeenth." The account begins with the Portuguese capture of Ceuta and concludes with the death of Louis XIV, although some attention is given to matters earlier than 1415 and later than 1715. It deals with European expansion directly and as a whole, not merely as a function of several national histories. Thus there is opportunity for a good treatment of "Tools of the Explorers," "Fishermen, Explorers, and Slavers," "Christians and Spices," to quote the titles of three of the twelve chapters. Thus also the author has the occasion to suggest that "The Chinese Empire was by far the most powerful and most civilized state in the world" at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The very important role of minor states, Portugal and the Netherlands, is made clear. This is the greatest merit of the book, that, by treating the subject from a somewhat novel point of view, it promotes a juster understanding of what may well be the ultimately most significant single trend in the history of Europe and the world during the period with which it deals. It is a worthy addition to an excellent series of little books. JOHN H. GLEASON, *Pomona College*

THE LIMITS AND DIVISIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. By *Oscar Halecki*. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1950, pp. xiii, 242, \$2.50.) Dr. Halecki presents the thesis that the era known to the historian as the European Age has come to an end and that a new period, the Atlantic Age, has begun. He bases his premise on the belief that the history of part or the whole of Europe can no longer be studied intelligibly as a unit, for its civilization has become interwoven so intricately with non-European communities. Since the European Age, as the Mediterranean Age of Greece and Rome, is now terminated, Dr. Halecki feels that the scholar can glean much wisdom from studying the age in its entirety. As part of such a study and as a necessary preliminary to it, the limits and divisions of Europe in time and space are offered in this volume. The author contends that Europe was born with Caesar's invasion of Gaul, but the Mediterranean Age, though on the decline for a minimum of four centuries, did not end until the eighth century. The final date, however, for the making of Europe was the year 1000, "when the independence of Poland was recognized by Emperor Otto III at the congress of Gniezno" (p. 39). The terminal date for the European Age was probably World War I, though the author indicates it may not have been until the outbreak of World War II. Chronological divisions are the Middle Age, ending with the Great Schism; the Renaissance, terminating in the second half of the sixteenth century; the Modern Age, closed by the French Revolution, the partitions of Poland, and the American Revolution (which event marked the birth of the Atlantic Age); and the Contemporary Age, the period of transition between the European and Atlantic ages. Geographically, Dr. Halecki accepts the traditional European boundaries except those of the east. Here, he argues, the boundary fluctuated in accordance with

the flow and ebb of the Asiatic power of the Ottoman Empire and the Tartar khans in Russia. Byzantium and Kievan Russia were parts of Europe, whereas the Balkans under the Turks and Muscovy until Peter's time are excluded. In dividing Europe, the author draws a north-south line to make a western and an eastern Europe. However, he takes part from each for a central Europe. Here the Germans make up a west-central Europe and the non-Russians of eastern Europe form east-central Europe. It is over these divisions that most debate concerning Dr. Halecki's views will be heard. Perhaps during the first half of the European Age the area labeled east-central Europe was European, but certainly in the Modern and Contemporary ages the Balkans and eastern Europe were only European to the extent of the relatively few belonging to the upper classes. It is difficult to see the Rumanian peasant, for example, classified as a European. The author, however, makes an interesting and provocative presentation of his view, and the wealth and scope of his footnotes force one to consider the arguments most carefully.

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER, *Ohio State University*

DER DEUTSCHE HISTORISMUS IN ENGLAND: EIN BEITRAG ZUR ENGLISCHEN GEISTESGESCHICHTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Klaus Dockhorn*. With a Foreword by *G. P. Gooch*, [*Hesperia*. Ergänzungsreihe: Schriften zur englischen Philologie, Heft 14.] (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht; Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. 230.) This disquisition has for its theme German historicism in nineteenth century England, that complex of thought which, left unredefined by the author, is throughout understood in Troeltsch's terms: "the historicization, as a matter of principle, of all thought on man, his culture and its values" (*Historismus*, p. 102). The volume studies the reception and adaptation of historicism, its thought and methods, and traces its limitations, its speculative side proving most unacceptable to the British. In terms of personalities, the account includes Niebuhr, Hegel, the Grimms, Savigny, Boeckh, Otfried Müller, and Thomas Arnold, J. C. Hare, Kemble, Thirlwall, Yorke Powell—teacher of Charles A. Beard in Oxford—Seeley of the older generation, Max Weber and Tawney of a later one, with such remarkable middlemen in science as Bunsen and Max Müller. In terms of institutions there appears the triumph of the university and the professorial teacher over the amateur in history. The main fields of fertilization were those of classical philology, theology, and jurisprudence. This reviewer's query whether art history might not also have been included is perhaps based merely on the memory of the Crowe family, with the change from the Germanophilia of the art historian and consul general Sir Joseph Archer Crowe (1825-96) to the Germanophobia of his son Eyre; in any case, it would have been the latest of the adaptations. Dr. Dockhorn's work, reassuring about the quality of German postwar research in spite of the prevailing material handicaps, is a concise piece of "influence history," in short, a wholesome reminder of the fact that this category originated with the philologists; it is tactful and modest in its claims for German historicism, aware of the later painful parting of the ways following the times when learned connections had for a while erected a superstructure of Anglo-German political harmony. Discretion in this respect, while wholesome after the sweeping politicization of German philologists, goes perhaps even a bit too far because it skips the question whether or not a specific political relationship between Germany and England, non-hostile and noncompetitive at the time of reception, formed the very precondition of, and was conducive to, the introduction of historicism. There is likewise no mention or awareness of such related problems as the foreign historian in England—Max Müller, Vinogradoff, Baron Friedrich von Hügel, and others—or of the treatment of neglected themes of English history by foreigners. But these themes are concerns primarily of

the social historian or sociologist, not necessarily to be treated in a series of "Writings on English Philology."

ALFRED VAGTS, *Sherman, Connecticut*

THE HISTORICAL THEORY OF GIAMBATTISTA VICO. By *Thomas Berry, C. P.* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. x, 165.) Until 1947 there was no English translation of the *Scienza Nuova*. English and American interest in Vico has been slight, if compared with the European response to his work. In England, of course, the studies by Flint, Vaughan, and Adams, as well as the influence exerted by Vico upon Collingwood have been notable. Recent studies, especially the excellent introduction and notes furnished to their translations by Professors Fisch and Bergin, have been aided by the completion, in 1944, of Fausto Nicolini's definitive edition. No doubt aware that Vico's support has been claimed not only by Neo-Hegelian philosophers of history, but by Fascists and Marxists as well, Thomas Berry, the author of this new study of Vico's historical theory, has reacted in the opposite direction by avoiding interpretation as much as he can. He rightly stresses Vico's obscurity, although in making this the burden of the first section of his dissertation he falls into repetition. His method is to quote from Vico's various treatises parallel passages on such topics as "Philosophy and History" or "Fate and Chance in History." Unfortunately, in these short chapters of from three to seven pages, containing a great deal of summary and quotation, there is too little opportunity to deal with major questions bound to arise in any serious discussion of Vico's thought. Vico's defense of the validity of historical knowledge and his perception of fruitful new methods of investigation served a good purpose. Like Bacon, whom he admired, he sketched a method for the use of the human mind; like Bacon he produced with varying success examples of his method put to work. But, unlike Bacon, he lacked confidence in human power to act upon what is understood. At the heart of his theory lies a contradiction between his belief that "men make their own history" (a principle that Marx adapted to his own use) and the belief (appealing to his Fascist supporters) that they make it without conscious or rational purpose, according to a course of development national in scope and inalterable in sequence. Even in a small study that attempts chiefly to let Vico speak for himself, this dilemma cannot escape analysis if the praise accorded to Vico is to be any more convincing than that of his absolutist disciples.

LAURENCE STAPLETON, *Bryn Mawr College*

MAKING THE PEACE, 1941-1945: THE DIPLOMACY OF THE WARTIME CONFERENCES. By *William L. Neumann*. (Washington, Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1950, pp. 101, \$1.00.) The author of this little book has rendered a very useful service to all who may be interested in the background of the peace that has thus far failed to materialize. Making use of documentary materials generally available and of the memoirs of leading political figures, he has attempted to reconstruct the course of negotiations between the three major Allied powers during the period from August, 1941 (the Atlantic Conference), to February, 1945 (Yalta). The summary account which he presents of necessity omits much detail but is done with complete objectivity and good judgment. It is useful reading for anyone who wants to know more about how the world came to be involved in the mess in which it now finds itself. Dr. Neumann is concerned with the interpretation of the record as well as with its factual presentation. He finds that the peacemakers have failed just as completely this time as at the end of World War I. He does not attempt to compare these two experiences in any detail, but his general conclusion would seem to be that war, particularly total war, is about the least promising means of achieving the kind of world promised in Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill. With



respect to the failure of peacemaking during World War II, he is more specific. If the achievement of the kind of peace that had been promised was out of the question, wasn't it possible to get more than we actually have—at least half a loaf? His answer is that the results which we are experiencing were intrinsic in the character of the war itself. Total warfare, leading to the elimination of great powers and the creation of economic and political chaos, can result only in rivalry between the victorious powers to fill the power vacuums created. In such an interpretation, communism assumes a somewhat less important place than we are sometimes inclined to give it. Naturally, in such a competition, the power that is in the position to support its diplomacy with effective military force is in a strong position. Dr. Neumann's analysis would seem to suggest that the British and American governments were quite naïve if they believed that they would be accepted as joint peacemakers in areas freed and controlled by Russian arms.

LELAND M. GOODRICH, *Brown University*

ANNUAL REVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS AFFAIRS, 1949. Edited by *Clyde Eagleton*, Director of the Graduate Program of Studies in United Nations and World Affairs, New York University. (New York, New York University Press, 1950, pp. ix, 322, \$5.00.) The title, *Annual Review . . . 1949* should not mislead the reader. This book is not a review of the activities of the United Nations during the year 1949 but a collection of lectures on the structure and functioning of the United Nations which are basic and will remain useful although the rapid rush of events has already made obsolete some of the illustrations. In the chapter on "Enforcement Measures," for instance, Henry Bloch states that United Nations experience in this field is a study of doctrine and not of practice. Since then the Security Council has moved out of the "vestibule" and into the arena. The obsolescence of any statement helps to prove the dynamic character of the United Nations, a point which its protagonists like to emphasize. This descriptive, somewhat pedestrian account of the United Nations has two distinguishing features: one, the analyses are made in almost every instance by officials of the United Nations—those who have to make the system work; two, there is a summary at the end of each chapter of the discussion between the lecturer and the audience. This feature is more significant for its revelations of public reaction to the United Nations than for any substantive contribution. There are sections on each of the six organs of the United Nations, the International Court, and "Trends for the Future." This last section includes a eulogistic account of the inter-American system by Charles Fenwick, who speaks from long experience and great admiration for the system. His discussion illustrates somewhat the connection between a regional organization and the United Nations, but it can not accurately be called a "trend" of the United Nations. "The North Atlantic Treaty" is discussed by John Ross, deputy to the United States representative to the United Nations, who describes the pact as a "well-conceived effort to blaze a new trail around the unexpected barriers encountered by the United Nations." The discussants sharply criticize this "trend" which they consider evidence of the unwillingness of the United States to use the United Nations to the fullest extent—another statement which the Korean war has dated. In addition to the factual accounts which make this book a valuable reference tool, several suggestions are made which should be developed at subsequent institutes, such as how to get adequate appropriations for the information services which are needed to make the most of public support of the United Nations and how to achieve a degree of co-ordination which will forestall the development of rivalries and vested interests among the various United Nations commissions and specialized agencies.

LOUISE LEONARD WRIGHT, *Chicago, Illinois*

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## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton<sup>1</sup>

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTERS, HYMNS, ETC., OF THE THEBAN RECENSION, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Three volumes in one. (2d ed. rev. and enl.; London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York, 1949, pp. ccvi, 78; xiii, 79-406; vii, 407-698; plates, index, \$7.50.) The first edition of Budge's translation of the Book of the Dead was published under a different title in 1898. The "second edition revised and enlarged" was first printed in 1909 in three separate volumes. It reached a third impression, three volumes in one, in 1928. Now a fourth impression appears, dated 1949. Some details on the title pages have been brought up to date; the plates are grouped instead of scattered, and their legends have been reset. Otherwise this newest form of the work is just another three-in-one reprint of the 1909 edition. Errors noted in the index and elsewhere in that first impression still remain uncorrected. Plate XI, upside down in the third impression, is again right side up as it was originally. The new volume, then, represents at best the Book of the Dead as known in 1909, forty years ago. But two other points must be mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

First, the translator, now long deceased, was so prolific a writer that quantity prevailed over quality. Second, each unit in his translations is based on a single document. Though he sometimes included more than one version of a "chapter" and indicated clearly in his introduction the long history of the texts and the difficulties involved in their transmission, he did not try to determine original readings. Such determination is possible at least occasionally, as the reviewer has discovered by years of comparing Book of the Dead manuscripts as well as their predecessors, the Coffin Texts, as a preliminary to making a more dependable translation. Progress since 1909 in the study of Egyptian grammar and vocabulary and a notable increase in quantity of available documents call for a better translation than the one here reoffered.

T. GEORGE ALLEN, *University of Chicago*

EXCAVATIONS AT OLYNTHUS. Part XIII, VASES FOUND IN 1934 AND 1938.

By *David M. Robinson*, Formerly Vickers Professor of Archaeology and Epigraphy and Lecturer on Greek Literature in the Johns Hopkins University; Professor of Classics and Archaeology in the University of Mississippi. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 38.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. xix, 463, plates, \$25.00.) Part V (1933) contained the pottery found in 1928 and 1931. The two later campaigns, those of 1934 and 1938, and hence this later volume, confirm and round out the earlier discoveries without any large deviation. The ceramic record of Olynthus is now spread before us—the yield of one hundred houses and six hundred graves—with more full and lavish presentation than the run-of-the-mill, artistically *poor* classical pottery from any one Greek site has ever received. The vases are historical documents, not art. The record for the earlier centuries, as read by G. E. Mylonas in Part V (pp. 15–63; summary *ibid.*, pp. 58–59), is unaltered. Most of the pre-Persian pottery is sixth and early fifth century; Rhodian connections receive increased emphasis in Part XIII. The great bulk of the pottery found at Olynthus is later, *ca.* 420–348. The years *ca.* 430 and 379 mark changes in style, not *ca.* 400. (The only definite stratum in the excavations, however, is at 479.) The volume summarizes the ceramic data from all four campaigns, and then presents typologically the vases from the latter two campaigns under more than 1,124 entries. On page 24, line 12 should read 994, not 991. A disturbing coin of Cassander which "had worked its way down to a depth of 0.60 m." should be dated 316–297, not 206–279 (p. 28). The index lacks "Inscriptions," "Prices," but has "Graffito"; lacks also "Alabaster" (nos. 1067, 1067A, 1068, 1069) and "Glass" (two vases found, p. 25). Number 82, dated "fifth or early fourth century" surely has a late palmette (a pity N. Gifford's thesis on "Palmettes," now in the Radcliffe library, is unpublished). In the handling of so large a mass of material, such flaws are inevitable. The volume may be cumbersome, the contents may not be handled as neatly as in the volumes with which the names of Clement, Graham, and others were associated, but it is amply good enough to warrant hearty thanks. Professor Robinson has not sought to conceal the fact that the artistic importance is meager, and all petty aspects disappear in a single clear impression.

STERLING DOW, *Harvard University*

THE POTTERS' QUARTER. By *Agnes Newhall Stillwell*. [Corinth, Volume XV, Part 1.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1948, pp. xi, 138, plates.) The Potters' Quarter is the name given to a group of structures that were found about a mile west of the ancient market place of Corinth. The site first attracted attention through the number of potsherds found strewn over its surface. Trial pits confirmed the surmise that it was an ancient habitation and in the spring of 1929 Mrs. Stillwell started a regular excavation (cf. her preliminary report in

*American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXV [1931], 1-30.) It was not an easy site to dig or to interpret, for it presented many problems. Clay beds, a plentiful water supply, a host of potsherds (about 850 baskets of them), pottery refuse, many vases and terracotta statuettes, molds for the making of such statuettes, and floors on which the clay was perhaps washed and wedged, pointed to a potters' quarter with a terracotta factory. Other features, however, such as a series of shrines, stone altars, and objects appropriate for dedicatory offerings (thousands of miniature vases, for instance) suggested a place of peculiar sanctity to which pilgrims came to worship. The explanation offered for this dual character is that the potters of the place were exceptionally pious and dedicated their own offerings in their own shrines—a not impossible conjecture considering the hazards inherent in the making and firing of pottery and the consequent importance of propitiating the gods. The site seems to have been occupied from Geometric times to the late fourth century B.C. when an earthquake completely destroyed the settlement. Through careful weighing of the evidence presented by walls, coins, lamps, inscriptions, and vases Mrs. Stillwell has been able to classify the material according to its various categories. It is disappointing that we learn practically nothing new about the technique of Corinthian vases, since no pottery implements and no kilns have been discovered—a curious absence in a pottery establishment. Nor have any bits of terracotta sculptures or of architectural revetments come to light to help our research in that field. We learn much, however, about terracotta molds and statuettes, the technique and character of which are described in detail (pp. 82-87). It is interesting to note the considerable variation in the clays used. Discrepancies of size in statuettes of identical type show that the molds were occasionally repeated from one another. Mrs. Stillwell has accomplished her difficult task with great conscientiousness and should be congratulated on the careful, sober, and factual handling of her material.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

ONESICRITUS: A STUDY IN HELLENISTIC HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Truesdell S. Brown*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXIX.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949, pp. viii, 196, \$3.00.) Onesicritus was a Greek who accompanied Alexander the Great to India. He piloted Alexander's own ship down the Indus, served as chief pilot for the fleet that Nearchus led back to Babylon through the Persian Gulf, and later wrote a book about Alexander. Thirty-eight fragments of his book remain, of which only six run to ten lines while two fill about a page and a half each. There are also eighteen brief *Testimonia* regarding the author. The whole fills thirteen pages in Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. In the monograph before us Professor Brown subjects these fragments to minute and painstaking scrutiny. He finds nothing in them to enlarge or rectify our knowledge of Alexander's campaigns, and he admits that their alleged scientific information about India is of little value. Onesicritus' account of the land of the Musicians is interesting as an illustration of Hellenistic utopianizing, however, and his views sometimes show the influence of Cynic philosophy. As a whole, the book adds little or nothing to our knowledge of Alexander, but it throws light upon what romantic Greeks believed or wished to have believed about the conqueror and the lands he visited. Perhaps the most serious criticism to be made of Professor Brown's study concerns its subtitle. Onesicritus did not write serious history, and W. W. Tarn still insists that he did not even pretend to do so. The present volume therefore scarcely deserves to be subtitled "A Study in Hellenistic Historiography."

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE REIGNS OF AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS.

Collected by *Victor Ehrenberg* and *A. H. M. Jones*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. vi, 159, \$2.50.) As is every collection of evidence, this handy volume is welcome. It offers 364 texts, belonging to the period 43 B.C.E.-37 A.D., mostly inscriptions but also some papyri, monetary legends, and documents preserved by writers. The usefulness of the book is, however, impaired by omissions: no indexes, no bibliography, almost no notes. At random, I take No. 43, a Latin inscription honoring Lentulus for his success in the Gaetulic war. The reader has the right to expect some help from the editors. Who was this Lentulus? When and where was the war fought? Last but not least, the texts are given without critical apparatus (which, however, appears sporadically, e.g. Nos. 278 and 279). That can only help to perpetuate the common error that the text of the "latest" edition is the right one. The result is that, for instance, Augustus' *Res Gestae*, that is, the most important document illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, can hardly be used in this reprint. Without the necessary critical notes, this monument cannot be studied by scholars, and, without some explicative notes, the historical material in this complicated report of Augustus is unmanageable.

ELIAS BICKERMAN, *New York City*

## SACRED FORTRESS: BYZANTINE ART AND STATECRAFT IN RAVENNA.

By *Otto G. von Simson*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. xv, 150, plates, \$10.00.) Professor von Simson here makes a laudable attempt to interpret the mosaics of three sixth century Ravennese churches (San Vitale, Sant' Apollinare in Classe, and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo) and the ivories of the "Throne of Maximian" (bishop of Ravenna, 546-56) in terms of contemporary politics and theology. After an interesting introduction on the historical and cultural background, he sets out to demonstrate that the mosaics of San Vitale illustrate the triumph of Byzantium over the Arian Goths and faithfully reproduce the Theopaschite theology of the emperor Justinian. The latter of these conclusions, which is wholly unwarranted, is based solely on the lack of a Crucifixion to round out the series of representations of Biblical parallels of the Eucharistic sacrifice. But the Crucifixion is of the utmost rarity in the monumental art of this period; and its omission from the apse, where von Simson says it ought to appear, should occasion no surprise whatever. What is surprising is that, although von Simson considers San Vitale to be dominated by the Theopaschite point of view simply because it has no Crucifixion, he dubs the Passion cycle in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo Arian or Nestorian despite its apparently deliberate avoidance of this subject. He seeks to connect San Vitale with the Byzantine liturgy, but his principal texts are found only in Latin liturgies. On the other hand, in his interpretation of the three episodes from the life of Moses that adorn the sanctuary he leans heavily on the *Christian Topography* of Indicopleustes without taking into account the apposite material on the same head in Augustine, Cassiodorus, and other Latin writers. Of the four scenes from the Vatican Cosmas (*Vat. Gr. 699*) to which he appeals in support of his theory of the Byzantine character of this church, at least two are iconographically irrelevant. Moreover, he overlooks the striking resemblance between the San Vitale version of Abraham with the Three Angels and its fifth century counterpart in the Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore, to which he alludes very briefly (p. 131) in connection with another and much less pertinent matter. Still worse, he asserts (p. 24) that Bishop Ecclesius (d. 532 [?]) is not represented among the courtiers at the emperor's side "because Byzantium would not have conceded [him] so prominent a place," thus momentarily ignoring the fact, to which he refers elsewhere, that Ecclesius actually holds a far more honored position than this and stands in the conch of the apse on the left of the glorified

Christ himself. The analysis of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, which he associates with the rivalry between Ravenna and Rome, is more convincing, as is part of the chapter on Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. The principal object of the *Sacred Fortress* is to prove that there is a sharp and culturally significant distinction between Byzantine and Roman elements in the art of Ravenna. This contrast von Simson endeavors to establish, not by the conventional stylistic and archaeological arguments, but by a detailed historical, liturgical, and theological exegesis. Unfortunately, however, this praiseworthy venture beyond the realm of archaeology, which contains much learning and many original ideas, is not a success. The author's selection of textual evidence and iconographic criteria is unduly subjective; he indulges in loose generalizations, falls frequently into self-contradiction, and often neglects to provide adequate documentation. Hardly any part of the book can be used without painstaking research and verification.

MILTON V. ANASTOS, *Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University*

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*How Man Became a Giant* and *Giant at the Crossroads*, appear to deal respectively with prehistoric man and ancient civilization. Judging from this volume, the purpose of the series is to show the progress of man in increasing his knowledge of truth and his mastery of nature. *The Giant Widens His World* opens with a sketch of conditions in the West after the Germanic invasions and closes with the burning of Giordano Bruno in 1600. Its scope includes both western and eastern Europe and their expansion into Asia and the Americas. Little attention is given to political events, and, although there is a good deal said about economic conditions, the main theme of the book is the vicissitudes of thought and learning. The heroes of the story are those men who, in the eyes of the authors, have dared to push back the boundaries of thought and knowledge, often at great risk to themselves, such men as Roger Bacon, Marco Polo, Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, Columbus, and Bruno. The story is told in swift, vivid, narrative style, which is admirably adapted to the tastes of the young people for whom it was written, but is perhaps not conducive to strict accuracy. A distorted impression is often given, usually through oversimplification, as for example in dealing with the executions of Boethius and Servetus and the attitude of Tycho Brahe toward the work of Copernicus. The Communist bias is apparent but not, in general, too blatant (except perhaps in attributing the invention of the steam engine to a certain Polzunov). The animosity toward the Roman church and the emphasis on the sufferings of the lower classes are not surprising. On the other hand, the dignity and capabilities of the individual are glorified, and progress is seen always as a broadening knowledge of the world and of other peoples. The general tone of the book is well expressed in the statement (p. 79) that "man's strength lies in the friendship of peoples." If it is said that this is not inconsistent with Marxist theory, it is certainly not in line with Soviet practice.

WILLIAM GILBERT, *University of Kansas*

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## Modern European History

### THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson<sup>1</sup>

THE DEBATE ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1761-1783. Edited by *Max Beloff*, Reader in the Comparative Study in Institutions in the University of Oxford. [The British Political Tradition, Book I.] (London, Nicholas Kaye; distrib. by British Book Centre, New York, 1949, pp. xi, 304, \$3.00.) This book is the first of a series having to do with British political tradition that will appear under the joint editorship of Alan Bullock, Fellow of New College, and F. W. Deakin, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. The aim of the series is to present this tradition, as embodied in varied contemporary source materials, in such a manner as will illustrate "the different facets of Englishmen's discussion of politics." Thus the views of conservatives and radicals, of those favoring a particular course of action and of those opposing it, of those of the majority and of those of the minority, are to be given equal emphasis in so far as is possible. Other volumes, besides the one under review, have to do with such topics as "The Debate on the French Revolution, 1789-1799" (see below), "The Liberal Tradition," "The Conservative Tradition," and "Britain and Europe, 1793-1939," as well as with other topics. Max Beloff opens *The Debate on the American Revolution, 1761-1783* with a thoughtful introduction of some forty pages, wherein the chief issues of the period are presented in a spirit of the most admirable detachment. The nature of fundamental law, the sovereignty of Parliament, the tradition of freedom throughout the English-speaking world of the eighteenth century, and other equally important political ideas are considered. The heart of the book takes the form of thirty-five well-chosen documents, each of which is preceded by an explanatory note. Nineteen of them are from British sources and the remainder from American; yet twenty-seven of them are in general sympathetic with the American position. As against the views of Otis, Henry, Dulany, Dickinson, Pitt (Chatham), Camden, John and Samuel Adams, James Wilson, Jefferson, Franklin, Burke, Paine, and Richard Price, those of Soames Jenyns, Bernard, Blackstone, Grenville, Lyttelton, Henley (Northington), Mansfield, Daniel Leonard, and Josiah Tucker, are arrayed. Neither group, of course, speaks with one voice. Although no two scholars in preparing such a volume of sources, concerned with the great dispute preceding the American War for Independence, would doubtless fully agree on what documents to include, students will find *The Debate on the American Revolution* of value, making clear as it does the complexities of the political situation within the British Empire between 1763 and 1775.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, *Lehigh University*

THE DEBATE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-1800. Edited by *Alfred Cobban*, Reader in Modern French History in the University of London. [The British Political Tradition, Book II.] (London, Nicholas Kaye; distrib. by British Book

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Centre, New York, 1950, pp. xx, 496, \$3.00.) This is a companion volume to *The Debate on the American Revolution, 1761-1783*. The word "debate" is not altogether apt, nor is the material primarily concerned with the French Revolution itself. There are 209 short extracts, many of them of less than a page, from letters, speeches, pamphlets, and books, arranged in seven sections under such headings as "The Intervention of Burke," "The Struggle for Parliamentary Reform," "Natural Rights and Sovereignty," "Burke's Theory of the State," "The Suspension of Habeas Corpus," "The Defence of the Established Order." These headings indicate that the subject matter deals more with the problems of Britain and with the varying ideas of political theory than with the course of events in France. Over sixty writers are cited: Burke naturally stands at the head of the list, but Fox, Pitt, Paine, Windham, Mackintosh, Godwin, Priestley, Price, Wyvill, are well represented—even Wordsworth, Burns, and Coleridge are included. Here then may be found pertinent material from a widely representative group for a comparison of political theories and for the arguments for and against reform in Britain—all more or less influenced by the French Revolution. The selections are well chosen and logically arranged, and there is an excellent introduction of thirty-two pages.

ARTHUR H. BASYE, *Dartmouth College*

BRITISH WAR ECONOMY. By *W. K. Hancock*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Chichele Professor of Economic History, and *M. M. Gowing*. [History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series.] (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York, 1949, pp. xvii, 583, \$4.75.) The British government has made provision for the publication of perhaps thirty volumes of what Professor Hancock, the editor of the series, calls the "civil histories" of the British war effort in World War II. In view of the scope of the project and the probability that many of these monographs will not be forthcoming for some years, if at all, the directing committee has wisely decided to offer three synoptic volumes: one dealing with wartime social policy, a second with war production, and a third, the present volume by Professor Hancock and Mrs. Gowing on "the development of the British war economy as a whole." Historians eager to obtain any reliable data available on the British war economy will be grateful to the authors for their courageous effort to review the field before all the spadework has been completed; they will be equally impressed by the judicious, though often frankly personal and independent, manner in which the monumental task of selection and integration has been accomplished. The volume is divided into five parts corresponding to major military phases of the war. Part I, after a brief review of British wartime economic policies from the Napoleonic period, offers a revealing chronicle of Britain's tardy efforts to meet the challenge of German rearmament and political aggression; Part II covers the "phony war" when the British and French, financially hobbled by American neutrality legislation and led astray by the experience of World War I into preparing for a long war of economic attrition, failed to gear their war efforts to a maximum; Part III depicts the months from Dunkirk to Pearl Harbor, those months when the British people, faced with imminent disaster, exhibited an unexpected vitality and resourcefulness; Parts IV and V, which are separated by the Normandy landing, show a progressive abbreviation in proportion to the growth of the American share in the Allied war effort. Statistical summaries covering such subjects as finance, imports, shipping losses, etc., accompany each part. The economic historian will necessarily find fault with the arrangement of the work. Although a generally successful effort has been made to focus attention on those problems of major importance to each military phase, certain ones, such as man power, were always present and hence have to be treated three or four times with a resulting loss of

continuity. A more serious objection may be found in what appears to be an occasional lack of balance in the amount of attention paid to particular aspects of the economy. War shipping, for instance, is treated admirably and in considerable detail, whereas finance is handled in a most summary fashion; mention is made of individual committees or boards established to supervise the war effort, but at no point does one obtain a clear picture of how the administration of the war economy functioned. Because of the official policy—not strictly observed—to omit names of individuals, key personalities who played a part in shaping the administrative controls remain disembodied spirits. Some of these objections may disappear with the appearance of the other two synoptic volumes, but one additional criticism may strike American readers. The authors, perhaps overly sensitive to postwar Anglo-American relations, have made frequent comparisons between the extent of British and American war efforts. The practice would be more justifiable, and a more useful purpose would be served, had they included comparisons with the war economies of the other belligerents, particularly the German.

JOHN BOWDITCH, *University of Minnesota*

MACKENZIE KING OF CANADA: A BIOGRAPHY. By *H. Reginald Hardy*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. xii, 390, \$4.50.) In the 1700's Robert Walpole set a record of 7,620 days, or nearly twenty-two years, as first minister of the British crown. This record was broken on April 20, 1948, by William Lyon Mackenzie King of Canada, who had dominated Canadian politics for twenty-two years as prime minister and seven as opposition leader. This is the first, full-length biography of a notable historical figure, by a leading member of the parliamentary press gallery at Ottawa—comparable to an Alsop, Lindley, or Mark Sullivan. As objective as Lindley on F. D. Roosevelt, it is clearly the work of a journalist rather than a professional historian, but gives an excellent picture of King the statesman and his background. King's grandfather, after whom he was named, was leader of the 1837 rebels. During the rebel's exile, King's mother was a resident of Upper New York State, near the ancestral homes of F. D. Roosevelt, Churchill, and De Valera. The book traces well the formative years of the statesman—family influences, education at Toronto and Harvard, social service training at Hull House, in London, and with the Rockefeller Foundation in the labor relations field; in Canada as civil servant, deputy and minister of labor, party leader and prime minister. Chosen as heir by Laurier, King in turn chose another great French Canadian, St. Laurent, as his own successor. King's years as leader of party and nation show Canada developing from an agricultural to an industrial state, assuming its position as senior Dominion within the Commonwealth, equal in status to the United Kingdom, and playing a major part in two world wars. Mr. Hardy is at his best in portraying King as an adroit parliamentarian and cross-country speaker, from his press gallery vantage point. This reviewer watched King in action during the critical Beauharnois debate, and was impressed, as was Mr. Hardy, by King's adroitness in opposing Bennett and lesser men. Mr. Hardy is perhaps weakest in discussing world affairs since 1939 in which King played a major part, and affairs in the United States during King's early years here. For example, he puts T. Roosevelt's trust busting, and Ida Tarbell's muckraking in "*McLure's*" (*sic*) in 1897 (p. 36). But these are minor errors, not detracting from a well-done work. Its sources are chiefly newspaper dispatches and reminiscences of King's colleagues and old friends. Most space is rightly given to events of World War II.

AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, *University of Nevada*

SOUTH AFRICA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Arthur Keppel-Jones*, Senior Lecturer



in History at the University of the Witwatersrand. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 30, British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 212, \$1.60.) Within a narrow compass, Dr. Keppel-Jones has succeeded in presenting a clear and balanced account of the political history of South Africa from 1488 to 1949. Although far distant from the areas of the great world conflicts, the subcontinent of Africa has experienced the operation of nearly all the forces which have given nightmarish qualities to life in the twentieth century. In South Africa aboriginal peoples have been destroyed in contests for survival; European settlers have failed to find a permanent solution for nationalistic differences; capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism have here revealed their worst characteristics; fear, jealousies, and racial prejudices have beclouded men's minds and undermined the foundations of society. South African history abounds in heroic exploits and dramatic episodes. The country has produced and experienced the impact of strong personalities. But it has lacked or failed to follow men strong in human sympathy, tolerance, and understanding. The little book under review throws much light on the events in this part of the world since Europeans began their occupation of it. The varying fortunes of the early settlers, their relations first with Dutch then with British authorities, their conflicts with Bantu invaders of the land, and their grouping into new political entities are skillfully traced. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism and its struggle against British political and Dutch cultural dominance are sketched objectively. The evolution of the present segregation policy of the South African government is described. While weak on the economic and some of the social aspects of South African history, this book is strongly recommended to those who seek enlightenment on the varying fortunes and present-day problems of the Union of South Africa.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

THE PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. By L. F. Crisp. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. x, 344, \$5.00.) Professor L. F. Crisp, former director general of the Australian Department of Postwar Reconstruction, has written a scholarly and comprehensive book on the federal government of the Commonwealth of Australia. In addition to a consideration of the structure and functions of the organs of the federal government at Canberra, the author devotes three chapters to the Australian electorate and the political parties of the country. The genesis of the Commonwealth constitution, providing a perspective for the later problems of the federal government, is briefly but skillfully traced at the beginning of the book. Unlike their colleagues in the United States, Australian political scientists have not been prolific in their publications in the field of government. Professor Crisp has rendered a valuable service not only to his own countrymen but also to foreign scholars interested in comparative government. His chapters are well documented and reflect mature scholarship. Some reviewers may find the frequent and often long quotations in the book somewhat distracting although the author has carefully inserted them into the body of his text. The appendixes of the book contain the footnotes for each chapter, a bibliography, and the constitution of Australia. Especially interesting to the student of British Commonwealth relations is the chapter entitled "The Crown and the Governor-General." Here the author discusses the position and power of the representative of the king. It is apparent that in the half century since the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia the governor general has become more and more restricted in his initiative and discretion. Professor Crisp concludes that he "provides a dignified ceremonial leadership to the government and the nation" and "an adequate symbol of national unity and continuity above the day-to-day warfare of parties." Students of federalism will find

in this book certain similarities and differences between the national governments of the United States and the Commonwealth of Australia. Americans, accustomed to praise for the fathers of the constitution at Philadelphia, will be surprised to learn that Australians hold their founding fathers "in no special reverence or regard." Although the general reader of the volume will find it a little technical, the scholar in history and political science will value the book as a contribution to the study of government.

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD, *University of Michigan*

NEW ZEALAND. By *Harold Miller*, Librarian of Victoria University College, Wellington, New Zealand. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 32, British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 155, \$1.50.) This short account of New Zealand should be judged in the light of the clearly specified aims of publisher and author. The latter was asked to write for the "general reader but especially for the unprofessional student." Accepting this purpose, also a limit of less than 150 pages, he has chosen to present the history of New Zealand in two parts only—"a bitter conflict of races and a remarkable political experiment." It is the concrete material, significant and abundant, which makes the book valuable. There is a vivid account of changes made in the life of the Maoris by their acceptance of the Christian religion, of the pressure upon them of land-hungry settlers before this new way of life had been effectively organized, and of the willingness of leading chiefs to meet the Europeans more than half way. Through such facts the despair and rapid degradation of the Maoris after their defeat in 1865 is made understandable. In this compact narrative, too, the struggle of the pastoralist and the farmer with the difficulties of dense forest, tough fern growth, rugged mountains, and treacherous streams takes on reality. The individualism of the frontiersman reinforced by the reforming bent of nineteenth century British liberalism is shown finding expression in a determination that each and all must have a decent life. From the beginning of organized political life in the late 1870's, the author explains, the policy of government, whatever party is in power, has been and is to encourage the private producer and redistribute the resultant increasing national income to the advantage of the ordinary citizen. The book as a whole seems an informal discussion by a thoughtful, well-informed, and objective New Zealander rather than a scholarly history, and it is quite probable that the author deliberately chose this approach in order to meet more effectively the needs of the general reader. The bibliography is well chosen but its usefulness is impaired by frequent omissions of given names or even initials of authors. From the end-paper maps about one fourth of the places referred to in the text are missing.

EDITH DOBIE, *University of Washington*

#### THE INVASION OF NEW ZEALAND BY PEOPLE, PLANTS AND ANIMALS:

THE SOUTH ISLAND. By *Andrew Hill Clark*. [Rutgers University Studies in Geography, No. 1.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1949, pp. xiv, 465, \$6.00.) Professor Clark is a geographer. In this book he has explored the introduction into an economically empty land of the human, animal, and botanical resources upon which a century of successful economic development has been built. His main purpose is to establish a pattern of resource allocation and to describe how it came into existence. New Zealand was an admirable specimen to choose for such a study. The South Island, to which this volume is confined, was sparsely inhabited by a handful of Maoris. Some whalers and other adventurous pioneers drifted in during the first decades of the nineteenth century; but for all practical purposes economic history began in 1840, with the first group settlements—offshoots of the New Zealand Company—at the northern tip of the island. The settlements of Otago (1848) and

Canterbury (1850) were more elaborate ventures of the same kind. In 1861 gold discoveries gave a fillip to the island's economy but effected a radical change in the outlook of its people. Even earlier, the introduction of sheep to be grazed extensively on the open plains and the hill country rising to the Southern Alps had spelled the doom of Wakefield's ideal of compact English-type settlements. Professor Clark traces in detail how the various elements of the present economic organization were introduced. In doing so he could draw upon an unusual wealth of documentation and statistical records, but even so he has added much that is new. The history of New Zealand has been written from many angles. Its people are literate and conscious of their origins. Political factors—the controversies with the Colonial Office and then domestic politics—naturally attracted first attention. Economic development has been extensively described. Within the last few years new ground has been broken, notably by H. F. von Haast's biography of his father in which the scientific and educational progress of a young country was outlined. Professor Clark continues this development by attacking the history as an economic geographer. He writes easily, has studied the local terrain, and uncovered the local material, much of which is difficult to find and, when found, to relate to the general pattern. The result is a noteworthy, interesting, and very useful piece of work. One element is needed perhaps to complement what he has done. The seat of government has always been in the North Island. It is useful to trace the private initiative which brought plants and animals (and their pests) into a new country. This is the basic story. But government also played a role, and in New Zealand a large role, in economic development. This is a little difficult to read into Professor Clark's study of what was only part of a political entity. If he goes on to write the story of the North Island also, the role of government may appear more plainly; but New Zealand is a whole, and in this respect the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

J. B. CONDLIFFE, *University of California*

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner<sup>1</sup>

GERMANY'S DRIVE TO THE WEST (DRANG NACH WESTEN): A STUDY OF GERMANY'S WESTERN WAR AIMS DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Hans W. Gatzke*, Department of History, the Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. x, 316, \$5.00.) Because the monograph by its very nature frequently taxes powers of historical perspective, students of this work will appreciate the skill with which its author has integrated an intensive treatment of his subject with the broader political dynamics of imperial Germany. Dividing his study into five phases, Mr. Gatzke painstakingly examines within each period the gamut of German public and private opinion during the First World War on what the postwar intentions of a victorious Reich should be toward the areas west of its 1914 frontiers. As the conflict developed Alfred Hugenberg, Hugo Stinnes, August Thyssen, and other industrial leaders perceived personal advantages in the German annexation of competing industry in Belgium, of iron ores in Briey and Longwy, of bases on the Flanders Coast from whence could be launched a "Second Punic War" to destroy their giant competitor Britain. Other motives persuaded such figures as the journalist Reventlow, the political adventurer Kapp, Admiral von Tirpitz, the historian Brandenburg, General Ludendorff, Reichstag member Stresemann, and many others to join the industrialists in a formidable pressure group which worked determinedly for western expansion. The author cites such voluminous published sources on all aspects of this movement that his failure to gain access to certain unpublished materials from the German archives captured in 1945 does not appear to be of serious import. The relation between the *Drang nach Westen* and the general political scene is clearly presented. The widening cleavage in wartime Germany over reform of the imperial and Prussian governments was accentuated by differences over war aims. The Right sensed increasingly the necessity for achieving a great military victory—and annexationist peace—in order to justify its leadership and stave off reform on the home front. Conversant with the pertinent literature, including von Kühlmann's recently published memoirs, Gatzke examines Bethmann Hollweg's efforts to bridge this schism, the bungling of Michaelis, and the emergence of a regime in 1917 fully committed to annexations. The pedantic critic will point out that Stresemann's identity as an annexationist has for some time been established. Another may debate the assertion that throughout the war *Drang nach Westen* was much more popular with the German nation than *Drang nach Osten*. But none can dispute the well-documented thesis that German western expansionism was an extremely powerful movement and, because of its effective opposition to compromise peace in 1917, a tragically significant one. Students of imperial Germany will find here much that is informative and meaningful.

KENT FORSTER, *Pennsylvania State College*<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

GERMANY, 1947-1949: THE STORY IN DOCUMENTS. [Department of State, Publication 3556, European and British Commonwealth Series 9.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. xlvii, 631, \$3.25.) This rather large volume tells in documents the story of American policy toward Germany, with pertinent developments in Germany, during the period from January, 1947, to September, 1949. The documents include public addresses of prominent officials, press statements, communiqués, protocols of the proceedings of international conferences, reports and reviews by officials in Germany, diplomatic notes, treaties and agreements, policy directives, recommendations, Control Council laws, and German state and federal constitutions. All of these documents had previously been published in one place or another and at one time or another. But, before the appearance of this volume, one who wished to write or to study the history of Germany for this period had the difficult task of gathering together the scattered documents and then arranging them so that an orderly and understandable account could be given of the many different developments which had occurred during these years. Such a person would have welcomed this volume with joy, for in it the documents are skillfully arranged under four major headings: "Basic Principles and Objectives" (97 pp.), "Political Developments" (226 pp.), "Economic Developments" (212 pp.), and "Educational, Informational, Cultural, and Religious Developments" (91 pp.). These major divisions are broken down into sections—"Political Structure, Law, and Administration," for instance—of which there are nineteen, and these in turn are further divided into subsections—"Political Parties" and "Elections," for example—of which there are some forty-eight. By reading successively the documents in the subsections, "The Berlin Crisis" (73 pp.) and "Federal Republic of Germany" (52 pp.), one can get an excellent over-all view of the crisis and of the steps by which West Germany came to have its own government. The value of the book is enhanced by several helpful charts, by glossaries of political parties, by tabulations of the official results of elections, and by a table of contents which is so complete that the omission of an index does not seem serious. The compiler and the Bureau of German Affairs are to be congratulated on their great service to historians.

F. LEE BENNS, *Indiana University*

THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW. By *Hanns Lilje*. Translated and with an Introduction by *Olive Wyon*. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1950, pp. 128, \$1.25.) On August 19, 1944, Hanns Lilje, at that time a pastor in Lichterfelde and general secretary of the Lutheran World Convention, was arrested by the Gestapo at his Berlin home on charges of complicity in the July 20 attempt against Hitler. Five months later, after confinement in the Lehrterstrasse and Tegel prisons, he was brought to trial before the notorious Roland Freisler in the People's Court. He received a four-year sentence, was removed to Nuremberg, and there was liberated when the city fell to the American Seventh Army in late April, 1945. This small book contains his personal record of captivity under the Nazis. *The Valley of the Shadow* is not intended as a major contribution to the history of German opposition movements, for Bishop Lilje states flatly, "I took no active share in the preparations for the events of the 20th of July" (p. 36). The author's principal concern is with his own religious experience while in prison. Nevertheless, his narrative contains numerous sidelights of value to any student of the Nazi period. If it does not invite comparison with earlier accounts centering on other dissident groups—Hassell's *Diaries* for the higher civil service, Gisevius' *To the Bitter End* for the army and the intelligence services, Emil Henk's *Die Tragödie des 20. Juli 1944* for the socialists—it at least supplies additional facts concerning numerous clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, who were involved in the resistance. Furthermore, it is interesting to read Bishop Lilje's discussion of the

Jesuit and Calvinist doctrine of tyrannicide (as he identifies it), as well as his own reasons for remaining "faithful to the doctrine of the Lutheran Reformation, which excludes this possibility" (p. 61). The book is not without its irritating, at times even unpleasant, features. The author's reference to one of his jailers as a "little dark man, a miserable specimen of the Germanic race" (p. 29), and his elaborate scorn for the broken German of certain Rumanian *Volksdeutsch* guards (p. 37) are disquieting echoes of an attitude which in Germany antedated and has outlived the full frenzy of Nazi racism. The reader must, in addition, remind himself that neither Bishop Lilje's treatment while in jail nor his eventual prison sentence gives any indication that the Gestapo took him very seriously. This effort to keep matters in proportion is necessary because of quotations from various interrogators which are apparently intended to reveal the entire security service overawed by their victim's previous theological stature and paralyzed by his fearless wit. Granted, however, that his own story is something less than Boethian in power, Bishop Lilje has nonetheless written several arresting passages which show him in the more genuine role of an intelligent observer. He is at his best in portraying the peculiar mental torment undergone by those of his fellow prisoners who were under sentence of death. With Allied armies battering into the Reich from all sides, these men had to reconcile the grim probabilities of their own situation with the tantalizing possibility that they might yet be saved. A few were. Many more were destroyed by their captors at the last minute. This feature of the present volume lends to it an undeniable quality of suspense, even as it adds to our understanding of the final movements in the Nazi *Totentanz*.

FRANKLIN L. FORD, *Bennington College*

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*<sup>1</sup>

RAPPORTI DELLE COSE DI ROMA (1848-1849). By *Augusto de Liedekerke de Beaufort*. Edited by *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Biblioteca scientifica, Serie II: Fonti, Vol. XXXV.] (Rome, Vittoriano, 1949, pp. xviii, 212, L. 1500.) Augusto de Liedekerke de Beaufort (1792-1855) was the son of an aristocratic Belgian family who grew to manhood under the Napoleonic Empire, became a subject of the king of the Netherlands in 1814, and remained faithful to that government after the revolution of 1830. He represented the Netherlands at the Swiss Confederation for almost ten years and from 1830 until his death served as minister plenipotentiary at the Vatican. Professor Ghisalberti has published his dispatches (Nos. 238-380) for the period January 17, 1848, to July 31, 1849. The minister was a Catholic and a moderate liberal. Thoroughly acquainted with Rome and the Vatican, he was a good observer and careful reporter whose dispatches constitute an excellent body of source material on all the dramatic events which centered at Rome in 1848: the role of Pius IX in blessing the movement for Italian independence; the concession of the constitution for the States of the Church; the allocution of April 29; the breakdown of the constitutional experiment; the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi; the flight of the pope from Rome; and the triumph of reactionary policies at Gaeta. Although the dispatches reveal nothing radically "new" or previously unknown, their publication is fully justified, for they offer confirmation of many tenuously known facts and vivid detail for much else. The reports include a great deal of what was believed, known, or felt at Rome regarding the revolt of Sicily, the revolution in Naples, and the war for independence in North Italy; but their chief value lies in what the minister saw directly. He was favorable to the cause of Italian independence but keenly aware of the moral shortcomings of leaders and peoples. Harshly as he condemned the anarchic spirit which led to the pope's flight, he judged the reactionary policy of the curia at Gaeta—the appeal to foreign intervention in order to return to absolutism—to be a mistaken course which would doom the temporal power. Professor Ghisalberti's excellent editing includes a brief introduction, an index, and notes which are particularly useful because of their citation of a great number of the most recent works of Italian scholarship on the period.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH, *Washington, D.C.*

MUSSOLINI ALLA CONQUISTA DEL POTERE. By *Guido Dorso*. (Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 1949, pp. xiii, 286, L. 800.) Although, from a historical standpoint, this posthumous book is, to put it generously, utterly inadequate as an attempt to reconstruct the career of Mussolini up to the "March on Rome," it may commend itself to those who are interested in obtaining the tendentious and polemical views of an adherent of the ill-fated anti-Fascist "Party of Action" with regard to the Fascist leader. The

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles, except where otherwise indicated.

author has written far more creditable works in other fields, particularly with respect to the "Southern Question" in Italy. G. M.

FROM THE ASHES OF DISGRACE. By Admiral *Franco Maugeri*. Edited by *Victor Rosen*. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948, pp. viii, 376.) This semiautobiographical and semihistorical book is chiefly concerned with the author's experiences and reflections as an Italian naval officer under the Fascist regime, as a combatant at sea during World War II, as the director of the intelligence branch of the Italian navy while Mussolini was still in power and after our entrance into the war, as the temporary custodian (on behalf of the Badoglio government) of Mussolini's person after the latter's "fall" in July, 1943, as one of the Italian intermediaries with the famous Taylor-Gardiner mission, as an organizer of a pro-Ally "underground" movement centering in Rome, and as chief of staff of the Italian navy. All of which would seem to invite the attention of historians were it not for the fact that it is to be seriously doubted whether Admiral Maugeri is the author of the book and whether he would be prepared to take full responsibility for its contents. Until these doubts are clearly resolved, historians would be well advised to ignore the book or use it with extreme caution. G. M.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*<sup>1</sup>

PETER THE GREAT AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. By B. H. Sumner, Warden of All Souls College. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1949, pp. 80, 6s.) The warden of All Souls College is a recognized master in the field of Russian diplomatic history. His *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (1937) is among the basic monographs on the subject. His new study is devoted to the same general theme of the growth of Russia's influence in the Near East but deals with the beginnings of Russian imperialism in that area rather than with its mature age. The reader will find in Professor Sumner's new book a brief outline of the diplomatic and cultural background of Muscovy's relations with the Near East in the late seventeenth century, and an expert and illuminating analysis of the relations between Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire from the time of Peter's first Azov campaign (1695) through the Pruth disaster (1711) up to his death (1725), with occasional glimpses on succeeding developments, including the treaty of Belgrade (1739). Throughout this period the whole diplomatic setting was extremely involved with Austria, Britain, France, and other European powers struggling for influence at the Ottoman court and constantly changing sides, with Charles XII of Sweden seeking refuge in Turkey after his defeat at Poltava (1709), with the Ukrainian government in exile, and the Crimean khan passionately intriguing against Russia, and so on. Of this complex and, at times, paradoxical and fantastic situation, Professor Sumner has given us a well-balanced and remarkably lucid account. The role of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire, particularly that of the Balkan Slavs—so significant for the future—is carefully assessed. Their counterpart in Russia, the Moslem peoples within the Russian Empire, who were potentially the sultan's fifth column of which he did not know how to make full use—has been generally less known so far, and Sumner's penetrating appraisal of their position is especially welcome. While Peter failed in his main objective in the south—that of gaining access to the Black Sea, he succeeded in establishing Russia's "permanent diplomatic representation at Constantinople, which put her on a footing of equality with the other European powers" (pp. 78-79), and this, as Sumner rightly points out, was in itself not a minor achievement.

GEORGE VERNADSKY, *Yale University*

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

LENIN AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By *Christopher Hill*. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. xvi, 245, \$2.00.) Intended neither as an outline of the Revolution nor as a biography of Lenin, scholarly in background but popular in treatment, this small volume is merely an assessment of Lenin's work, an estimate of his place in history. About three fourths of the space is devoted to Lenin as the theorist and organizer of revolution and the remainder to his policies and achievements as head of the Soviet state. One will find here the bedrock of Leninism with little loose gravel; the treatment of the party, the state, agrarian policy, and imperialism preserves Lenin's own qualities of directness and clarity. Indeed, the knowledge displayed and the skillful exposition may conceal from the reader the very definite bias of this book. For the writing is that of a believer, not of a skeptic. How else could one associate collective farms with self-government and the Soviet one-party system with the solution of the conflict between economic planning and political liberty? The historic opponents of Bolshevism receive short shrift. For example, not all Left Socialist Revolutionaries were absorbed by the Communist state; some were absorbed by prison and others were laid in the ground. Trotsky frequently comes under the author's fire but not one word is uttered in criticism of Stalin. Yet no assessment of Lenin's work can be complete without a consideration of the latter-day distortions of his system, whether these are viewed as inherent in the system itself or as the product of forces over which the Soviet state had no control. The author correctly observes of Lenin that "the source of his will-power was in the last resort his deep belief in the goodness of man, of man untrammelled by property." But what if man, untrammelled by property, continues to be trammelled by power?

OLIVER H. RADKEY, *Hoover Library*

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Sidney Glazer

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE TAIPING REBELLION. By Ssu-yü Teng, Lecturer on Regional Studies of China, Harvard University. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. ii, 132, \$1.75.) Dr. Teng's excellent bibliographical essay will be of great value to all students of modern Far Eastern history and international relations; they owe a debt of gratitude to both Dr. Teng and the Institute of Pacific Relations. Works like it on other topics and periods are highly desirable. During the last twenty-five years a great deal of source material on the Taiping Rebellion has been made available through the work of Hsiao I-shan and others, and interestingly enough much of the most valuable original Chinese material has been discovered in Western and Japanese libraries. Also some of the most basic source materials were recorded by contemporary Western observers. Dr. Teng discusses and evaluates aside from these source materials the recent works of seven Chinese scholars and the recent works in English, French, German, Japanese, and Russian. Approximately twenty pages are taken up with the bibliographical discussion. The remainder of the work discusses such topics as "New Lights on a Few Knotty Problems"; "The Nature, Cause, and Early History of the Taiping Rebellion"; "New Light on Military Developments"; "New Light on the Taiping Religion and Calendar"; and "New Light on Taiping Political and Social Systems." The study thus affords a brief survey of the rebellion in the light of the most recent studies and gives much detailed information on many obscure and controversial points. It is carefully annotated throughout, and all necessary characters are given in the extensive notes and character annex. No serious scholar of modern China should be without the work.

E. H. P.

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

JEFFERSON'S IDEAS ON A UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: LETTERS FROM THE FOUNDER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA TO A BOSTON BOOKSELLER. Edited by *Elizabeth Cometti*, Associate Professor of History, Marshall College. (Charlottesville, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1950, pp. 49, \$2.00.) This monograph prints fourteen letters from Jefferson as rector of the University of Virginia to William Hilliard, a Boston bookseller, and contains a small chronological essay by the editor on Jefferson's dealings with the firm. It would be hard to conceive of a more elaborate printing for a subject as trivial as this one. The promise to examine Jefferson's ideas on a university library is nowhere redeemed in the course of its scant pages. Jefferson wrote untold numbers of letters to booksellers throughout his learned life: taken together and studied carefully, they would certainly reveal a great deal about his reading, his tastes, his prejudices, and his ideas on education as well as on politics, history, and a host of other subjects. But to isolate this single and singularly limited correspondence without working over the implications of his choices of books and editions for the University of Virginia's library, is to present material raw at a time when the Jefferson papers are being amply and carefully presented in the inclusive edition of his writings now in progress at Princeton.

ADRIENNE KOCH, *New York University*

PATRICK HENRY: THE VOICE OF FREEDOM. By *Jacob Axelrad*. (New York,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Random House, 1947, pp. vii, 318, \$3.75.) This summary of Patrick Henry's career will be a very useful one for popular reading and for collateral reading in college courses. While it makes no contribution to our knowledge of Henry, it summarizes existing information in an interesting manner. The author has a good narrative style, and this is the book's principal value. From the standpoint of a student of history, the book is unsatisfactory in a number of ways. It obviously is based upon a somewhat superficial knowledge of the times and of Patrick Henry, and the author has done no serious research in the available manuscripts. As usual in biographies of this sort, there is an unquestioning enthusiasm for the subject, and Henry's many inconsistencies and faults are glossed over. The natural and inevitable emphasis upon the main figure of any biography is exaggerated here to the point that few other of the Revolutionary leaders receive much credit, certainly not Thomas Jefferson or Richard Henry Lee. And yet, this book is a better book than perhaps I have indicated. It was not intended to be a definitive, scholarly biography. It was intended to be a portrayal of the great Revolutionary leader, a man who loved freedom and would fight for it, and it was written with the present dangers to freedom in mind. While the book is not the sort of book a historian would produce, and while it will not satisfy him, it may serve a useful purpose until a definitive biography can be produced.

PHILIP DAVIDSON, *Vanderbilt University*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and Edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. Volume XIV, THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA-MISSOURI, 1806-1814. [Department of State Publication No. 3502.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949, pp. v, 915, \$2.75.) The title of this volume links it with the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, and the offerings of its years (1806-1814) include the harrowing experiences of our second war with Great Britain. Thus, it forms a substantial contribution to the frontier history of the mid-Mississippi Valley. Not every official document of the period appears here; some gaps represent lacunae that may never be supplied; others stand for routine papers that a few specimens adequately represent. The editor, as he has told us in previous volumes, makes extensive use of other sources, both printed and manuscript, but to identify and locate events rather than interpret them. Land claims and Indian affairs make up the leading topics of the book. The first naturally determines local politics, largely personal in nature, although the officeholders uniformly profess to be followers of Jefferson. Five executives, three of them "acting," fill the seven administrations into which the events of the eight years are gathered. As frontier administrators, most of them are disappointing, despite creditable public records elsewhere. Their immediate predecessors had certainly failed to give the territorial regime a good start. The best of the five was Benjamin Howard, who rightly gained a reappointment and from thence passed on to a military task for which his Indian experiences fitted him. Generally, each territorial executive found it difficult to keep on cordial terms with fellow officials or to follow a course that met the wishes of land claimants and the views of Indian agents and army contractors. The governor was a target for all sorts of petitions. He usually found the affairs of his jurisdiction in turmoil when he arrived and left them in a similar condition—much to the discomfort of his federal superiors. In dealing with this routine correspondence, much of it of minor importance, Dr. Carter has aimed to identify persons and locate events, rather than to interpret them. His index of one hundred pages is a perfect mine for the local historian, affording a rough measure to guide the tyro in the field, or even give a new thrill to a well-worn topic, within or outside the immediate territory. The correspondence throws welcome sidelights on social and economic features of pioneer life. Each new volume of the series attests

the value of the monumental task and the wisdom shown in undertaking it on a national scale.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX, *Evanston, Illinois*

**NATURALISTS OF THE FRONTIER.** By *Samuel Wood Geiser*. (2d ed. rev.; Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1948, pp. 296, \$5.00.) The history of natural science has as yet few devotees, and many of its obscure byways remain unexplored. This is particularly true in the United States, where a considerable contempt of the "bug chaser" and "bone hunter" still exists among less literate and rural folk. Moreover, even among trained librarians, there is sometimes an exasperating indifference to early documents which have not been labeled valuable in dealers' catalogues. This reviewer, for example, can remember one painful experience which he had after discovering an important rare and early treatise on the mammoth slowly crumbling under rough handling on the open shelves of a much-used university library. "It should be in your Rare Book Room," I told the librarian. "There are only a very few copies extant in the country." "My dear fellow," the librarian responded condescendingly, "we only place books valued at over fifty dollars in the Rare Book Room. I have never seen a quotation on this item in the catalogues." These are the documents out of which the history of science must be written, but so long as the world lacks interest in the source material, it will continue to disappear. Part of the blame rests upon American scientists themselves, many of whom have shown an almost provincial indifference to the history of ideas. Happily there are signs that this attitude is at last on the wane. *Naturalists of the Frontier* is a sturdy and well-documented treatment of eleven southwestern naturalists of the mid-nineteenth century, ranging from Jacob Boll, one of Cope's collectors, who died a frontier death in a fossil hunter's camp near the Red River in 1880, to Gideon Lincecum, the correspondent of Darwin and first describer of the harvesting ants of Texas. It is interesting to note that of all the workers treated by Dr. Geiser, Lincecum alone was a true backwoodsman without formal schooling. The rest were mostly educated abroad and came to Texas, by chance and the "Great Migration" of the nineteenth century. *Naturalists of the Frontier* is, therefore, an indirect tribute to those Germans, Swedes, Swiss, and French who brought with them the intellectual ferment of a Europe on the threshold of the Darwinian discoveries. Dr. Geiser has collected his material with unflagging energy and persistence. He has scanned the literature, interviewed remaining pioneers. Best of all he has produced a careful and well-tempered volume whose honesty and lack of sensationalism are to be commended. His book is worthy of the men he has sought to commemorate.

LOREN C. EISELEY, *University of Pennsylvania*

**A SCIENTIST ON THE TRAIL: TRAVEL LETTERS OF A. F. BANDELIER, 1880-1881.** By *George P. Hammond* and *Edgar F. Goad*. [Quivira Society Publications, Volume X.] (Berkeley, the Society, 1949, pp. xi, 142, \$5.00.) Adolph F. Bandelier, of German-Swiss parentage, was one of the pioneers in the scientific study of American archaeology and ethnology. Bringing to the work a sound historical training, critical judgment, and unbounded energy and perseverance, he made invaluable contributions to knowledge of the Indians of southwestern United States, Mexico, and the Andean region of South America. To most of his present-day successors, who have so greatly profited by his tireless researches, he has hitherto been a shadowy figure. They will therefore welcome the light so clearly thrown on his character and his life in the field by these extracts from letters to his family that were published in the *Highland Union* of Highland, Illinois. The first group, written from New Mexico in 1880, tell of his delight in finally realizing his desire to see the ancient ruins and to observe the life of the Pueblo Indians, descendants of their builders. He describes



his work at the ruins of Pecos; his stay at the intensely conservative Pueblo of Santo Domingo, from which he was starved out when the native priests discovered his interest in their secret rites. In later letters of the same year, Bandelier records his much friendlier reception by the Indians of Cochiti and his exploration of prehistoric ruins in the rugged country to the north, part of which is now included in the appropriately named Bandelier National Monument. The second group deals with his first journey to Mexico in 1881. Equally enthusiastically and vividly he writes of the land and its people, the ruins of Cholula and Mitla, of his hardships and dangers on the wild and bandit-infested slopes of Popocatepetl. These informal jottings reveal the human side of an eminent scholar and bring out very interestingly the development of his scientific theories. They whet one's appetite for Bandelier's voluminous journals, covering these and the later travels and researches of his long and fruitful career. Most of them are preserved in the Museum of New Mexico. It is much to be hoped that they may eventually be published.

A. V. KIDDER, *Carnegie Institution of Washington*

THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER: AN IRISH REVOLUTIONARY IN AMERICA.

By Robert G. Athearn, Assistant Professor of History, University of Colorado. [University of Colorado Studies, Series in History, Number 1.] (Boulder, University of Colorado Press, 1949, pp. 182, \$2.00.) There is still much to be known about the ways in which successful immigrants and *émigrés* adapted themselves to American life. Dr. Robert G. Athearn has made a useful contribution to this in his well-documented and well-written study of Thomas Francis Meagher, a gentleman Irish revolutionary who came to America after a romantic escape from Tasmania, where he was imprisoned. Dr. Athearn's thesis is that Meagher succeeded in America, insofar as he may be said to have succeeded, by virtue of the skill with which he manipulated the dominant climate of opinion in the United States of the 1850's. For this brash, opportunistic, shallow, and noisy fellow, high strung, ebullient, and eloquent, became an extremely well-known and popular figure, not because of any contributions he made to his adopted land but rather by virtue of the way in which his ideas and outlook personalized the expansive, romantic, and enthusiastic America of the day. This verbose, truculent refugee, in seeking fame and fortune, lived on his reputation as a champion of Irish freedom and got ahead by making the right contacts. In brief, he succeeded in transferring the psychology of Young Ireland to Young America. He became a champion of the aristocratic South, though at the crisis he chose the Union side; he engaged in dubious promotions of filibustering in Central America; he recruited and commanded Irish-American troops in the Civil War; and he ended his days as acting governor of Montana. In none of these affairs was he in any real sense a success. Nor was he in his cautious efforts to provide some leadership to the liberal elements in American Catholicism. Only in an era when verbal brilliance was highly prized, when anyone could start a new journalistic venture, when rampant romanticism was the order of the day, could a Meagher have kept even part of the prominence his background initially gave him. This study clearly shows that Meagher made no lasting contribution of any importance to American development. Nevertheless the biography, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Minnesota, is a good demonstration that careful research in well-chosen primary materials, some common sense and imagination in dealing with personal and social psychology, and a lively style, are sufficient to make what most historians would regard as an utterly trivial episode take on a measure of genuine worth in the historical literature of acculturation, the cult of success and failure, and the nature of the national temper.

MERLE CURTI, *University of Wisconsin*

AMERICANS FROM SWEDEN. By *Adolph B. Benson* and *Naboth Hedin*. Foreword by Carl Sandburg. [The Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1950, pp. 448, \$5.00.) *Americans from Sweden* is not an important contribution to the study of immigration nor to the history of the particular group of immigrants with which it is entirely concerned. Mr. Benson is a linguist with interests in literature and Mr. Hedin is a journalist long associated with the American Swedish News Exchange. The function of the News Exchange is to disseminate favorable information about Sweden and the Swedes in the United States. The authors of *Americans from Sweden* do not pretend that their work is based upon serious research nor that it represents a critical evaluation of the results of research by others. They have sought instead to digest "materials already available" and to continue their volume called *Swedes in America*, edited by them for the New Sweden Tercentenary. *Americans from Sweden* is a eulogy. Its greatest merit is that it never leaves the reader in doubt as to the sympathies of the authors. American historians need to develop an interest in the history of immigration and it is also important that a sympathetic attitude of a larger public is created toward the contributions of our immigrant groups. But it is doubtful that *Americans from Sweden* contributes toward these desirable ends. It is too ethnocentric. The fact that Carl Sandburg has written the foreword might enhance the interest in the volume but not its value. The bibliography is not creditable, and it is evident from the acknowledgments that the authors did not use the material with discernment. *Americans from Sweden* consists of a historical narrative of the background of Swedish immigration, the work of the pioneers, the distribution of the immigrants, the organization of their churches, the establishment of their educational institutions, and the contributions of a number of individual Swedes to the various phases of American life. The narrative flows rather easily as the background is treated, begins to falter by the parade of catalogic and fragmentary facts as the religious life of the immigrants is discussed. The reader is also disturbed or distracted by comparisons, irrelevant information, and frequent quotations without any effort to cite the source. The last part of the book is essentially based upon *Swedes in America*. No doubt the inclusiveness and almost encyclopedic nature of *Americans from Sweden* will make the volume useful as a ready reference. It is part of "The Peoples of America Series" edited by Louis Adamic.

O. FRITIOF ANDER, *Augustana College*

OUR ENGLISH HERITAGE. By *Gerald W. Johnson*. [The Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1949, pp. 253, \$3.50.) Mr. Johnson has undertaken a formidable task. Our English heritage bulks so large in American history and tradition as to be difficult to isolate and to appraise justly. Mr. Johnson divides his discussion of our English heritage into two parts, dealing in Book One with "The People" and in Book Two with "The Institutions." To each of these general subjects he devotes an approximately equal amount of space. The author might well have called his first book "As the Twig Is Bent," for he emphasizes the familiar point that the characteristics of the leaders and of the common men of nuclear societies that grow into permanent establishments have great significance because these peculiarities become part of a history and tradition that condition the lives of the generations that follow. Mr. Johnson shows skill in suggesting important aspects of the life and thought of seventeenth century England that were carried to the twelve New World colonies on the mainland either by the anonymous men who tilled the forest clearings or fished in the offshore waters or by their leading men. The former, Mr. Johnson calls "The Indispensables" and the latter "The Gentlemen of Quality." To each he devotes a long chapter. Among the leaders the author emphasizes colonizers such as Calvert and Penn, governors such as Bradford and Berkeley and enterprisers such as John

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY AND THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM: A SESQUICENTENNIAL HISTORY. By *Walter Muir Whitehill*. (Salem, Peabody Museum, 1949, pp. xvi, 243.) The librarian of the Boston Athenaeum has gracefully fulfilled his appointed responsibilities as historian of the Peabody Museum with the publication of this volume. The East India Marine Society, its membership limited to those good Salem captains who had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, shows a trace of that social snobbery which, this reviewer suspects, is part of the Yankee pattern visible in the founding of other learned societies and institutions as far away as Wisconsin. It also, in this particular case, created a situation analogous to that faced by the celibate Shakers: came the day when there were no more members. Thence stemmed the change of corporate structure, the advent of Peabody money, and the change of name. One may follow the story with sympathy. First, the original group of founders with their dinners and jollifications, their collections, and their important contributions to the world's then limited fund of navigational information. Then the museum whose evolution follows a familiar pattern: gregarious collecting, revamping facilities to crowd every possible object into a necessarily limited space; ventures into by-ways reflecting the interests of the changing curators; finally the restoration of some semblance of order and attention to aesthetics with the clearing away of the irrelevant and the unimportant. Yet in the process, sometimes, as in the case of the Polynesian artifacts, quite by happenstance, at other times—the Japanese collections, for example—by design, materials of great importance were acquired. The jollifications and the museum, in this book as in real life, overshadow the charitable activities of the original society. This institution in its Hydro-headed life of a century and a half, has made important contributions: to navigation, to ethnology, to Essex County, to the generations who have gained knowledge of other parts of the world from its treasures and its curiosities. It is reassuring to find an institution which still flouts costs in order to publish its history in a specimen of the bookmaking art appropriate to its standing and its contributions. Yet as in most other books of this type, the corporate hero curiously seems to function in something of a vacuum without relation to or knowledge of the contemporary culture in which in actuality it is both contributor and recipient.

CLIFFORD L. LORD, *Madison, Wisconsin*

PEPPER AND PIRATES: ADVENTURES IN THE SUMATRA PEPPER TRADE OF SALEM. By *James Duncan Phillips*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1949, pp. xii, 141, \$2.50.) Salem's dominance of the pepper trade with Sumatra began in the 1790's and continued, except for interruptions from Mr. Jefferson's embargo and Mr. Madison's war, for nearly half a century. The *Rajah's* voyage of 1795-1797, which produced a profit of 700 per cent, got the trade off to a good start, although that this was literally "The First Pepper Voyage" might be questioned. The outward cargoes were similar to those of the China trade, being mostly Spanish dollars—and opium. The special hazards closely resembled those of the Northwest Coast trade, for the Malays

were always on the lookout for an opportunity to seize a vessel, usually by a surprise attack. Twice in the 1830's American warships appeared to destroy the mud forts of guilty rajahs, but such attacks and the lack of a permanent post from which American commerce could be protected are given principal credit for the gradual absorption of the trade by the British and Dutch. Direct trade between Salem and Sumatra ended in 1846 with the one hundred and seventy-ninth vessel to arrive with a cargo of pepper, but Salem ships and captains continued in the trade until the last pepper vessel from Sumatra to America reached New York in 1867. The author values the return cargoes over fifty years at about \$25,000,000. The little volume is not entirely devoted to pepper, pirates, and Sumatra; coffee, block tin, privateers, wrecks, Batavia, and even Japan also appear. A captain who failed to get a cargo of pepper contracted in 1801 to take freight from Batavia to the Dutch post at Nagasaki and returned home with a cargo of coffee which was eventually sold in Amsterdam. The pepper itself was frequently "re-shipped to all the ports of Europe from Archangel to Naples." This chatty and entertaining book is primarily intended for readers more interested in proas and pirates than in the business aspects of the pepper trade, but it may attract attention to such more substantial works as the author's *Salem and the Indies*. The organization and arrangement could be improved, but an index assists in the pursuit of scattered information and ample references appear at the end of the volume, grouped by chapters which, irritatingly, are identified only by number. The seventeen illustrations, mostly portraits of ships and captains, do not add a great deal, but the end papers present a useful map of "The Coasts of Sumatra."

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER, *Houston, Texas*

ANDREW BRADFORD, COLONIAL JOURNALIST. By *Anna Janney DeArmond*. (Newark, Del., University of Delaware Press, 1949, pp. ix, 272.) This study is not a full-length biography of Andrew Bradford, for, as the author points out, little is known of the details of Bradford's life and no records exist to throw direct light on his personality, characteristics, or appearance; moreover, he left little correspondence and no direct descendants. Instead, the work is largely a systematic analysis of one of the earliest colonial newspapers, the *American Weekly Mercury*, which Bradford established in Philadelphia in 1719 and printed and published until his death in 1742. Upon a brief background of the story of printing in Philadelphia from 1685 to 1713, and following a short biographical sketch of Bradford, the author presents a history of the *American Weekly Mercury*, its sources, content, editorials, as well as a discussion of its popularity and influence. Chapters on the *Mercury* as a mirror of the times, on politics in Philadelphia, and the controversy between Andrew Hamilton and Bradford are interesting and revealing. A little space is devoted to the *American Magazine*, the first number of which appeared early in 1741, three days before Bradford's competitor, Benjamin Franklin, published the first issue of his *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*; both magazines were short-lived. Bradford also printed a number of books and pamphlets, including several in German and the first book in Welsh to be published in America. No checklist of Bradford's imprints, however, is given. *Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist*, is a careful and scholarly study, the result of much labor; it is a worth-while contribution to colonial history and should stimulate interest in similar studies.

ARTHUR C. BING, *University of Pennsylvania*

JAMES ALPHONSUS McMASTER: A STUDY IN AMERICAN THOUGHT. By Sister *Mary Augustine Kwitchen*, O.S.F., of the Congregation of Our Lady of Lourdes, Sylvania, Ohio. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. xiii,



230.) The career of James A. McMaster, a nineteenth century editor and convert to Catholicism, closely paralleled that of the more famous Orestes Brownson. Born in 1820 of Scotch-Irish stock, he clung to the Presbyterian faith until his graduation from Union College in 1843. After a brief flirtation with Episcopalianism while a student at the General Theological Seminary, he embraced Catholicism in 1845 under the influence of the Tractarian movement. Three years later he became editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, a post that he occupied until just before his death in 1886. In telling the story of McMaster's long career, Sister Mary Kwitchen has wisely singled out certain episodes for emphasis. She discusses thoroughly his conversion to Catholicism, his violent opposition to abolitionism and the Civil War (a stand that led to his imprisonment for disloyalty during the conflict), his campaign against "Godless" public schools, and his role in the postwar controversy over ultramontaniam. These topics are thoroughly and intelligently treated, with the maximum of documentation and the minimum of interpretation usual in a doctoral dissertation. Her brief volume is a valuable contribution to the history of American Catholicism.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

STATEN ISLAND, 1524-1898. By *Henry G. Steinmeyer*. (Richmondton, Staten Island, Staten Island Historical Society, 1950, pp. x, 134, \$2.00.) This engaging little work of 25,000 words tells the story—rather than the history—of Staten Island from the time it was sighted by Giovanni da Verrazzano in 1524 to the time of its absorption in 1898 into the City of New York as the Borough of Richmond. Dr. Steinmeyer (a dentist by profession—who else would describe a man as edentulous rather than toothless) tells with wit and charm, and with love for the beautiful island which is his home, the tale of its development near, and yet apart from, New York. Fertile agriculturally, endowed with wooded hills and pretty lakes, enjoying magnificent views of New York Bay and Harbor, Staten Island yet grew slowly because of the difficulties of transportation to and from Manhattan. The book contains nothing new but is much more readable than many of its predecessors. Unlike so many local histories, moreover, it is not cluttered with names of local celebrities—the island itself being the hero of the story. Following the text there are a good bibliography, an interesting collection of half-tone illustrations, a glossary of old place names, a helpful chronology, and a useful index. Altogether, the book provides an instructive and pleasurable evening's reading. WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM, *Wagner College*

ROCHESTER, THE FLOWER CITY, 1855-1890. By *Blake McKelvey*, City Historian, Rochester, New York. [Rochester Public Library, Kate Gleason Fund Publications, No. 2.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xviii, 407, \$5.00.) This is the second in what, we may be permitted to hope, will become a three- or four-volume history of Rochester. Three chapters deal with what is essentially the decade preceding and including the Civil War, three with the postwar decade, and seven with the years from 1875 to 1890. The general topical organization on broadly political, economic, intellectual, social, and cultural lines recurs through the three chronological periods. In consequence of this recurrence, a slight sense of choppiness and repetition is produced. The book is distinguished by an integration of local developments with the trend of the larger, national history, and by the success with which it avoids the limitations and sentiment of parochial emphasis. However closely the substance of the story may be confined to urban and regional interests, the relation and interpretation create an atmosphere of breadth and scope. The stress on matters of an antiquarian, personal, or dynastic character which almost inevitably isolates

local history is absent. This is a work of scholarship. Controversial subjects are handled with admirable objectivity; selection is clearly balanced and fair. The research has manifestly been thorough and exhaustive. A large portion of the material is derived from newspapers; a comparatively small portion is based on diaries, journals, or other forms of record. This is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as it might have been presumed that the interests and intelligence of many of the city's leaders, and their varied activities, would have yielded a far larger output of writing and reflections. A fair cross-section of what is ugly in our national background is reflected here in microcosm: ruthlessness in exploiting monopoly—as in the case of the coal supply; callousness in the provision of school accommodations; labor troubles; poor sportsmanship even in sports. Narration of such things is not tempered to civic sensitiveness but is treated with some candor and quite dispassionately. Gratifying, on the other hand, is the record of social amalgamation, civic achievement, and the intellectual growth of the community. These, and also the accounts of industrial and scientific unfolding, are particularly well presented. The whole constitutes a well-balanced, competent, and valuable addition to the larger structure of the nation's history.

LAWRENCE B. PACKARD, *Amherst College*

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#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

ESSAYS IN SOUTHERN HISTORY, PRESENTED TO JOSEPH GREGOIRE DE ROULHAC HAMILTON. Edited by *Fletcher Melvin Green*. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 31.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. vii, 156, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.25.) Many a historian would be happy to accomplish in any one field as much as Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton has accomplished in several. He has written much history both in books and in hundreds of articles and biographical sketches. He has edited many volumes of historical documents. He has gathered together thousands of bound volumes of manuscripts and millions of unpublished letters at the University of North Carolina. And he has been a teacher. Dr. Hamilton's books and briefer studies reveal his work as author and editor. The Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina bears testimony to his great service to scholarship as a collector of source materials. Now, fortunately, another facet of his career, his teaching, is celebrated in this book of *Essays in Southern History*, dedicated to him by some of his former students as a "testimony of their esteem of him as a friend and teacher." The occasion of the presentation was his retirement from his professorship of history in the University of North Carolina and from the directorship of the Southern Historical Collection. The eight essays that compose this volume deal competently with aspects of Southern history chiefly in the nineteenth century. Three treat political matters: John Harold Wolfe, "The Roots of Jeffersonian Democracy: With Special Emphasis on South Carolina"; Henry Thomas Shanks, "Conservative Constitutional Tendencies of the Virginia Secession Convention"; and James Welch Patton, "The Republican Party in South Carolina, 1876-1895." Two of the papers deal with the history of the Negro. Samuel Denny Smith sketches the public careers of Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, Negro senators from Mississippi. The white man's opinions of the Negro are critically analyzed in "The Ideology of White Supremacy, 1876-1910," by Guion Griffis Johnson. The other three studies are of diverse topics. Joseph Carlyle Sitterson describes the operations of a Louisiana sugar and cotton plantation owned by a Carolinian, Lewis Thompson. Daniel Jay Whitener writes the history of "Public Education in North Carolina during Reconstruction, 1865-1876," and Fletcher Melvin Green traces the origin, operation, and destruction of the inhuman and corrupt convict lease system.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR, *Duke University*

THE CAMPUS OF THE FIRST STATE UNIVERSITY. By *Archibald Henderson*, Kenan Professor of Mathematics. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. xvi, 412, \$5.00.) Histories of academic institutions take various forms. Some deal learnedly with the changing philosophies of education; some describe the growth of the physical "plant" that calls itself a college or university; and others provide apologia for successive generations of administrators. Professor Henderson, one of the senior members of the mathematics faculty of the University of North Carolina, focuses attention upon the development of the campus and all its appurtenances and in so

doing supplies a discursive narrative of the University of North Carolina's gradual evolution into one of the South's major institutions of higher learning. Although Professor Henderson concentrates his attention upon the physical attributes of the university, his book is full of incidental information about intellectual matters. It could hardly be otherwise. Someone has remarked that most college histories are faulty and one-sided because they rarely give adequate information about financial operations which determine the nature and quality of instruction. Similarly, a balanced history of any academic institution needs to appraise the importance of physical growth in relation to other aspects of its program. Professor Henderson's book of course makes no pretense of being a history of the university, but his discussion of the accretion of buildings supplies clues and incidental bits of information which the future historian of the University of North Carolina will find worth further investigation. Since physical growth is visible, it is axiomatic that money for buildings is more easily obtained than funds for intangible purposes. Between the lines of Mr. Henderson's book, one can discern the difficulties which administration after administration experienced in trying to prove to legislators and donors that bricks and mortar were not alone sufficient to make a university. This volume, filled with details and digressions, is designed to appeal to persons having some connection with the University of North Carolina. They will find in it incidents which are interesting and occasionally amusing. They will also find some of their cherished myths exploded. For example, Mr. Henderson labels as apocryphal the tale that the first trustees established the university at its present site in Chapel Hill because they found that the spring water where they had stopped for lunch was excellent for juleps. Of some significance perhaps is the fact that the university had what was labeled the "Ball Room," before it had a library. In the 1850's the university's few books were "arranged haphazardly on shelves around the walls of the 'Ball Room,'" and a reading room in the basement was open one hour each week (p. 148). Gradually, however, the persistence of intelligent men prevailed and the University of North Carolina acquired one of the greatest libraries in the South. Condensation would have made this a more helpful book to the social historian, but readers with the patience to pick through a multiplicity of half-forgotten details will find a residue of worth-while information.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Folger Library*

TRINITY COLLEGE, 1839-1892: THE BEGINNINGS OF DUKE UNIVERSITY. By *Nora Campbell Chaffin*. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1950, pp. xiv, 584, \$5.00.) The history of Trinity College, from whose faint beginnings the undergraduate liberal arts college of Duke University has grown, mirrors an epoch in the development of civilization in the United States. Beginning meagerly as Brown's Schoolhouse, an elementary subscription school (?-1839); then as Union Institute, a private academy (1839-1851); at a later date as Normal College, a state affiliated training school for teachers (1851-1856); and finally, as Trinity College, a liberal arts college controlled by the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the South (1856-1892), Trinity College has touched in its history not only every level of instruction but almost every major form of educational institution in the United States. It is because of this diversity of form and function, which may be traced through the history of a single institution, that Trinity College becomes an appropriate subject for educational history. Not only to the educational historian, in the narrow province of his own eminent domain, but also to students of the social history of the United States, Professor Chaffin's work will prove a scholarly pleasure. The history of American universities has never been adequately recorded. One thinks of the three-volume study of medieval universities by Rashdall, and of Walden's

work on the universities of ancient Greece; but, it seems, no comparable work on American universities exists. Here is a story, of vast pioneering efforts, that one day must be told; and it is only through the silent accumulation of volumes on each of our major institutions that such a story may come to its fulfillment. It happens, then, that *Trinity College* is one such careful step in approaching the story of America's higher institutions; for it is a history, not only of a college but of a people as well. It is a moral biography written into the life of an institution; and its characteristic trait is continuity, the renewal of the educative process amidst a diversity of forms. *Trinity College* is the spiritual life of a people embodied in the history of an institution. It remains only to note that the customary mechanisms of scholarship have been employed with the full vigor and diplomacy which mark the mature historian. The bibliography and documentation of the study have been subjected to thoughtful review. It is, I believe, a significant work in American educational history. Let us hope there will be others in this field.

RICHARD D. MOSIER, *University of California*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE SHIRLEY LETTERS, FROM THE CALIFORNIA MINES, 1851-1852. With an Introduction and Notes by *Carl I. Wheat*. [Western Americana.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xxix, 216, \$3.50.) "Shirley" is a pseudonym for Louise Amelia Knapp Smith of New Jersey, wife of a Dr. Fayette Clappe, a California physician during the gold rush era. The Clappes moved to Rich Bar, east branch of the North Fork of the Feather River in 1851, and there during this and the following year Shirley wrote the twenty letters which first appeared in San Francisco's *The Pioneer, or California Monthly Magazine* during 1854-55, were republished in 1933, and are again republished in the volume under review. The letters were addressed to a sister, but apparently they were also written with publication in mind. At first these letters received scant attention, yet they were regarded by Josiah Royce (1888) as "a marvelously skillful and undoubtedly truthful history of a mining community." And their present editor, Carl I. Wheat, considers them "a priceless contribution to our knowledge and understanding of that long-vanished era." The letters have distinction for having come from the pen of an intelligent, observing, sensitive, and literate woman. To women-hungry men at Rich Bar even the "Indiana Girl" looked good; to Dame Shirley, on the other hand, she was a female with a "mighty voice" who wore "the thickest kind of miner's boots, and has the dainty habit of wiping her dishes on her apron!" The author's character sketches are all vivid and her descriptions of life in the mining town are graphic. Mr. Wheat has limited his editorial notes to summary statements following each chapter, but in these he has attempted to identify several of the persons and places alluded to in the letters. This neatly printed little volume is one of the more worth-while of centennial Californiana.

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER, *Indiana University*

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## Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham<sup>1</sup>

## GENERAL

- LA CLASE MEDIA EN ARGENTINA Y URUGUAY and LA CLASE MEDIA EN MEXICO Y CUBA. Two volumes. Edited by Theo R. Crevenna. [Materialas para el

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, unless otherwise indicated.

estudio de la clase media en la America Latina, I, II.] (Washington, Union Pan-americana, Oficina de Ciencias Sociales, 1950, pp. xiv, 100; xiv, 98.) These two volumes are the first of a series which will contain essays on the middle class of nine countries of Latin America. Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, and Cuba have been treated so far. There is no identification of those to come. The essays have been contributed by various reputable men in the field, such as Gino Germani of Argentina and David Whetten of the United States. The work was initiated through a resolution of the Bogotá International Conference of American States in 1948, which recommended that the Union make a study of the social problems and needs of the peoples of the Americas. The purpose of the present work is primarily concerned with an introduction to the middle class of Latin America with the hope of encouraging further interest and study. The fact that existing materials are generally unsatisfactory for thorough analysis is made perfectly clear. The present publication serves its purpose by offering a useful and stimulating synthesis of the main points concerning the history, nature, and influence of the middle class in the areas considered. J. S. C.

Publications new to this list are: (1) *Notas e Informaciones Ciencias Sociales*, a Pan American Union publication with especially useful bibliographical information. The first issue appeared in January. The third (March) announces a series to be devoted to special themes beginning with that of urban society. (2) *Revista de Historia*, Vol. I, no. 1, São Paulo, Jan., 1950, a publication concerned with general history but with a large portion of its space given to Brazilian subjects. It is directed by E. Simões de Paula of the Universidade de São Paulo.

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## COLONIAL PERIOD

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL CAREER OF JOSÉ JOAQUÍN DE HERRERA, 1792-1854. By *Thomas Ewing Cotner*. [Latin American Studies, VII.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1949, pp. ix, 336.) Herrera was one of the few of Mexico's early executives who deserved well of his country. Loyalty, industry, foresight, and talent were qualities that determined for him his career, whether devoted to the Spanish monarchy or to the Mexican Republic. Innate courtesy made him considerate of associate and even of opponent, but with due regard for public interests. He was ever ready to defend or reform fundamental laws but by constitutional means. He was no mere self-seeker. Neither personal gain nor partisan motives dictated his shift in allegiance. As ever his controlling purpose was the good of his country. His contemporaries recognized his high ideals and in times of stress turned to him as a firm, incorruptible, well-tested guide. Eleven years in the Spanish army brought him more than mere routine experience and promotion. His comrades, drawing him out of the apothecary's shop to which he had retired, placed him in counsellor's seat, legislative hall, ministerial post, and, after some twenty years, in the presidential chair. His first term was interrupted by revolt on the eve of war with the United States—a conflict that he had sought to avoid, but from which he did not withhold his effective co-operation. When peace came, partly through his efforts, he was the first executive to complete the official term for which he had been chosen and to turn his office over to his constitutional successor—a unique record for Mexico! An honorable career had not enriched him, but for two years the directorate of the National Pawn Shop, Mexico's leading routine charity, gave him a welcome income. He resigned this position a few months before his death. The volume is a veritable mine of information



about Herrera and his times rather than a restricted biography. The reader seldom will be tempted to browse through its pages, but the footnotes will repay him for his trouble. A bibliography, adequate and well classified, and an analytical index will afford welcome assistance in this task and leave the reader grateful for a useful job well done.

ISAAC J. COX, *Evanston, Illinois*

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## BRAZIL

## HISTORIOGRAFIA E BIBLIOGRAFIA DO DOMÍNIO HOLANDÊS NO BRASIL.

By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Ministério da Educação e Saúde, Instituto Nacional do Livro, Coleção B-I, Bibliografia, Volume VI.] (Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1949, pp. xvii, 489.) After a brief general summary, the author lists 1,098 items published between 1621 and 1949. As a rule, no manuscript or iconographic material is included, and periodicals have not been systematically surveyed, with the exception of some principal Brazilian and Dutch reviews. Entries, with bibliographic particulars, are organized chronologically within the following divisions: I, history of Dutch colonial expansion in Brazil; II, general works on the Dutch in Brazil; III, works concerning the states of Brazil affected by the Dutch occupation; IV, general histories of the Dutch in Brazil; V, history of the wars, 1621-1654; VI, diplomatic history; VII, economic and social history; VIII, natural and medical history, ethnography, and fine arts; IX, literary history, biographies, and bibliography of bibliographies. No important works have been omitted, though some lightweight material seems to have been included for the sake of completeness. Annotations, some valuable but some, especially those dealing with general or collateral works, perfunctory or overgeneralized, seldom offer critical evaluation of sources. The index is good for names of authors but defective for finding works by title. Proofreading is generally good; make-up and printing are clear. The book is indispensable in its field and reflects much credit on its author and on the Instituto Nacional do Livro.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

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## NATIONAL PERIOD

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

MEXICO, A LAND OF VOLCANOES: FROM CORTÉS TO ALEMÁN. By *Joseph H. L. Schlarman*. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1950, pp. xiv, 640, \$5.00.) This is a tedious retelling of the history of Mexico, unrelieved by evidence of knowledge of the sources or of comprehension of the present state of that land. Spanish words are repeatedly mistranslated. Spanish names are used incorrectly—the mother's name, rather than the father's, is used to designate the individual under discussion. It is written with passion without perspective. It argues the case of the Catholic Church without reckoning with the intricacies of human motives. Its author argues by epithet, speaks of "the hateful Farías" (Gómez Farías), "the squandering Juárez government," "the . . . vicious labor agitator . . . Felipe Carillo Puerto," "the wily Calles used Morrow for his own purposes," "the fiendishness of Calles," and so on. Any fair-minded critic will find himself in substantial agreement with many of the author's indictments of Mexico's course with the church. But the reader will lay the book down rather wearily, certain that he prefers his history straight. As a Catholic statement on Mexico, this

book is vastly inferior to *Men of Mexico*, by Father James A. Magner (Milwaukee, 1942), and of course to the work of Father Cuevas.

HUBERT HERRING, *Claremont Graduate School and Pomona College*

RELACIONES DIPLOMATICAS HISPANO-MEXICANAS (1839-1898): DOCUMENTS PROCEDENTES DEL ARCHIVO DE LA EMBAJADA DE ESPAÑA EN MEXICO. Serie I, DESPACHOS GENERALES. Volume I, 1839-1841. (Mexico, D.F., El Colegio de Mexico, 1949, pp. xxxii, 370.) This volume initiates a most worth-while project: the publication of basic documents on Hispano-Mexican relations. The Spanish ambassador to Mexico, Don Luis Nicolau d'Olwer, not only permitted the publication of these documents from the archives of the embassy but he also wrote an illuminating prologue. The task of selecting and annotating the documents included was placed in the able hands of Javier Malagón Barceló, Enriqueta Lópezlira de Díaz Thomé, José M. Miquel i Vergés, and Carlos Bosch García. The compilers explain that the records of the Spanish embassy in Mexico are arranged under the following categories: *Reales Ordenes*, *Despachos*, *Notas* (between the Spanish minister and the Mexican foreign office), *Consulados y vice-consulados* (correspondence), and *Varios* (miscellaneous items). The over-all collection is to be organized in two series: "Despachos generales," of which this volume is the first, and "Despachos especiales," with subdivisions on "La Guerra de Cuba" and "Tratados y convenciones." The volume under review contains 105 documents, with numerous annexes, covering the period of January 11, 1839, to December 28, 1841. There are two communications to the Spanish consul during the early part of 1839. Eighty-three documents deal with the period of service of the first Spanish minister plenipotentiary, Angel Calderón de la Barca (December 19, 1839-August 13, 1841); the remaining twenty documents fall within the first five months of the service of his successor, Pedro Pascual de Oliver. As the subtitle of the volume indicates, the documents deal with general subjects. The following are representative: diplomatic credentials and letters of recall, establishment of shipping service between Mexico and Spain, economic matters (trade, tariffs, claims), recognition of Spanish American states, treatment of Spanish subjects in Mexico, revolutionary activities (especially in Yucatán), work of monarchists in Mexico, presence of Texas vessels in the gulf, flight of President Bustamante to Cuba aboard a Spanish vessel, United States threat to California, and Mexican relations with United States, Great Britain, and France. Extensive notes, including much biographical data, and indexes of documents and persons add greatly to the value of the work.

E. TAYLOR PARKS, *Arlington, Virginia*

#### SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA REPÚBLICA ORIENTAL DEL URUGUAY. Volume I, CULTURA: ACTAS DEL CONSEJO UNIVERSITARIO, 1849-1870. Introduction by *Felipe Gil*. (Montevideo, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1949, pp. xx, 545, plates.) The Institute of Historical Investigations of the Faculty of Humanities and Science of the University of the Republic at Montevideo was founded in 1947. Its director is Dr. Emilio Ravignani, an eminent Argentine historian, and it is dedicated to the study of the historical problems of Uruguay and the Western Hemisphere. It has undertaken an extensive program of documentary publication in order to make available to historians and others the basic materials regarding the growth and progress of Uruguay. In accordance with the adopted plan, this monumental volume of documents comprising the minutes of the university council has been published in connection with the celebration of the centenary of the

founding of this center of higher learning. The choice of these university records for the initial volume of the *Documentos para la historia* of the institute is considered most appropriate in view of the important role of graduates of the institution in the affairs of the Republic throughout the years since its founding. The volume consists of entries from the *Gran Libro de la Universidad* and from other *Libros de actas*, each of which is described. The entries are in chronological order and have been numbered consecutively. In addition a heading is supplied for each one, giving the name of the presiding rector and indicating the subjects considered. The sessions recorded extend from the official inauguration of the university on July 18, 1849, to June 21, 1870. Much valuable information regarding the organization and development of the university is furnished. Among the matters handled by the council were plans of studies, appointment and resignation of faculty members, annual reports of the rector, petitions and examinations of students, reading of theses with titles indicated, granting and conferring of degrees, registration of degrees from other universities, election of rectors, and relations with the government. The volume is illustrated by reproductions of portraits of the rectors, facsimiles of the signatures of members of the university council and of two pages of the *Gran Libro*, sketches of buildings and plans. The elegant format indicates the high character of the program the institute proposes to carry out. Dr. Ravignani and his associates are to be congratulated upon this outstanding publication dealing with the history of the University of the Republic of Uruguay.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D.C.*

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## BRAZIL

HISTÓRIA DAS FRONTEIRAS DO BRASIL. By *Hélio Viana*. [Ministério da Guerra, Biblioteca Militar, Volumes CXXXII (Dezembro, 1948) and CXXXIII (Janeiro, 1949).] (Rio de Janeiro, Gráfica Laemmert, 1948-49, pp. 333.) In twenty-seven lectures, the author summarizes the history of the delimitation and demarcation of the boundaries of Brazil in three large divisions of time: colony, empire, republic. Each division is given about the same amount of space and each is introduced by a general discussion of Portuguese or Brazilian foreign policy for the period. The last division has two chapters on Brazil in two world wars and in the Pan-American movement. The boundaries with Uruguay and Paraguay are treated in the imperial period and the rest in the republican. A useful feature is a description of each boundary quoted from J. S. da Fonseca Hermes and Murilo de Miranda Basto, *Limites do Brasil. Descrição geográfica da linha divisória* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940).  
 ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## Historical Activities

A group of personal papers of Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury from 1909 to 1913 under President William Howard Taft, has recently been acquired by the Library of Congress. The papers consist mainly of MacVeagh's correspondence for the years of service in the Taft cabinet; this contains information about his business connections and interests in forestry and exploration as well as about activities incident to his official duties. The papers also include some correspondence of an earlier period, particularly a series of letters from 1860 to 1905 from his older brother, Wayne MacVeagh, diplomat and Attorney-General under President Garfield, and a few memorandum books, diaries, and personal account books.

The Library has received as a gift from the National Women's Trade Union League of America the records of that organization from the date of its establishment in 1903 to June 15, 1950, when for a variety of reasons, chief of which was lack of personnel and funds, its activities were terminated. The league's headquarters records were kept with great care and the valuable papers were chronologically arranged, indexed, and bound. In addition to 32 volumes of such material, the league's gift includes verbatim proceedings of its biennial conventions from 1909 to 1947, proceedings of the three International Congresses of Working Women in 1919, 1921, and 1923, and more than 100 dossiers relating to the league's educational program on international affairs, legislation, and other matters.

The Emancipation Proclamation, signed by Abraham Lincoln, has been reproduced in facsimile by the National Archives and is for sale to the public at one dollar a copy. This is the sixteenth in the series of facsimiles of historic documents produced by the National Archives. The Bill of Rights, also reproduced on heavy rag paper, sells for fifty-five cents. All the other facsimiles, including George Washington's oath of allegiance at Valley Forge and Mathew Brady photographs of Lincoln and Lee, are photographically reproduced and sell for twenty cents a copy. Copies may be ordered from the Exhibits and Publications Officer, National Archives, Washington 25, D.C. A check or postal note, made payable to the Treasurer of the United States, should accompany each order.

A meeting of the National Historical Publications Commission was held at the National Archives on June 15 to comply with President Truman's recent request that it consider and report to him on "what can be done—and should be done—to make available to our people the public and private writings of men

whose contributions to our history are now inadequately represented by published works." The commission will make a survey of papers that would be appropriate for publication and will make a preliminary report to the President in the fall. Suggestions as to persons who have made significant contributions to the development of the United States in industry, labor, agriculture, law, education, science, and the arts, as well as in the political and military fields, will be welcomed. They should be made, with information about the papers of such individuals, to the secretary of the commission, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

In May, 1950, the project of editing and publishing *The Territorial Papers of the United States* was transferred from the Department of State to the National Archives. Clarence E. Carter, editor of the project, may now be found in Room 305, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D.C.

A facsimile of the first edition of *The Fry & Jefferson Map of Virginia and Maryland* has recently been printed in a limited edition for the Harry Clemons Publication Fund of the University of Virginia by Princeton University Press. The introduction, by Dumas Malone, describes the partnership of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, of whom this map of 1751 was the last notable joint achievement, and the use made of his father's map by Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The brochure accompanying the map contains also a checklist of eighteenth century editions of the map, compiled by Coolie Verner of the University of Virginia, and a list of references. The price of this very attractive publication is \$15.00.

Those who are interested in American influences abroad will be glad to know that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York, has published the discussion of this topic held at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association. The chairman, and editor of the pamphlet, Dr. Richard Heindel, Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., would welcome correspondence from those interested.

Teachers and students of English history will find it useful to know that they may obtain copies of Magna Carta with notes by Professor Faith Thompson. At the instigation of Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the charter with notes has been printed as Senate Document No. 180, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session. Copies may be obtained at ten cents each from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Nita K. Pyburn of the Florida State University at Tallahassee is investigating the subject of "seminary lands," i.e., lands which were reserved by the federal

government for education during the territorial period and then vested in the state on its admission to the Union and which were to be devoted to institutions of higher learning ("seminaries") and to "common schools." Miss Pyburn would be grateful for information concerning papers and documents bearing upon this subject.

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians held its 1950 sessions in Senate House of the University of London on July 13, 14, and 15. The formal program began with a general session on the fourteenth when, with Professor Notestein in the chair, Professor J. E. Neale spoke on the topic, "The Biographical Approach to History." At five that afternoon there were three section meetings. In the section on European medieval history with Professor R. Wittkover in the chair, T. S. R. Boase spoke on "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem." The modern English history section, Professor Chester New presiding, heard G. S. R. Kitson on "The Corn Laws Reconsidered." The American history section with Professor H. H. Bellot presiding heard Professor Herbert Heaton's paper on "A Neglected Chapter in Anglo-American Migration." The three sessions on Saturday, July 15, were devoted to medieval England, modern English, and modern European history. In the first, with Professor Helen Cam in the chair, Professor J. Le Patourel discussed Calais in the fourteenth century; in the second, Professor J. H. Tawney presiding, Professor Perry Miller read a paper on "English Dissent and New England Puritanism after 1660." In the modern European section Sir Charles Webster presided with H. Seton-Watson discussing "The Political Significance of Intelligentsia in Eastern Europe." These interesting sessions were preceded, interspersed, and concluded by luncheons, teas, and an evening reception at the National Portrait Gallery. There were also guided visits to the Public Record Office and the Muniment Room and library of Westminster Abbey. At its session on July 13, the executive committee took special note of the death of Professor John LaMonte, a member of their committee as well as of the program committee for this session. The 1951 sessions of the Anglo-American Conference will be held July 9-14 and will be much more comprehensive in scope, dealing with ancient history and many marginal subjects. Professor J. G. Edwards was re-elected chairman of the Anglo-American Historical Committee and Taylor Milne remains the secretary.

At a conference in Paris May 20 and 21 under the chairmanship of Professor Edward Mead Earle, a select group of French and English historians agreed upon the program for the Seminar on Modern France to be held at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton from September 18 to December 9. The decision was to make the central theme the probable consequences to France and to Europe of the present-day crisis in France, a crisis which has been acute since about 1934 but which has historic roots, its own special aspects, and its relations

to the dynamic conditions of the modern world. The members of the seminar are Raymond Aron, lecturer in the Institut d'Études Politiques and in the École Nationale d'Administration, Université de Paris; Jean-Jacques Chevallier, professor in the Faculté de Droit de Paris and in the Institut d'Études Politiques, Université de Paris; Gilbert Chinard, Meredith Howland Pyne professor of French literature (emeritus), Princeton University; Jean Gottmann, maître de conférences, Institut d'Études Politiques, Université de Paris, and chargé de recherches, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; J. P. T. Bury, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and university lecturer in history, Cambridge University; David Thomson, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, and university lecturer in history, Cambridge University; E. L. Woodward, Fellow of Worcester College, and professor of modern history, University of Oxford; Edward Mead Earle, professor, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; William Ebenstein, professor of politics, Princeton University; Henry W. Ehrmann, associate professor of political science, University of Colorado; Paul Farmer, associate professor of history, University of Wisconsin; Edward W. Fox, associate professor of history, Cornell University; H. Stuart Hughes, assistant professor of history, Harvard University; Gordon Wright, associate professor of history, University of Oregon; and Joseph Kraft (secretary to the seminar), Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

The Berkshire Historical Conference met on May 20-21 at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, with members present representing eleven eastern colleges. Reports by Mildred Campbell of Vassar College and Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College and the following discussions centered upon seventeenth century England.

From June 19 to 30 the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, conducted a school for reserve officers from each of the six Continental Armies. The curriculum was designed to prepare these officers to serve as staff or unit historians in time of national emergency. Hugh M. Cole of the O.C.M.H., colonel in the Reserve and formerly of the department of history of the University of Chicago, was in charge of planning the program. Wood Gray, department of history, George Washington University, and lieutenant colonel in the Reserve, was commandant of the school.

The Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum, 1610 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., was recently opened by the Naval Historical Foundation in the old carriage house of Decatur House, built by Stephen Decatur in 1819, but remodeled into a modern museum devoted to the history of American sea power. Successive exhibitions will include the Naval Services and related subjects such as shipbuilding, exploration, and foreign trade. The initial exhibit, "Commodores Truxtun and Decatur and the Navy of Their Time (1775-1815)" was followed by an exhibition

from the collection of prints presented by Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Eberstadt, illustrating European naval warfare from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, ending with the American Revolution. The third, opening about November 10, will commemorate the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary on that date of the United States Marine Corps, illustrating highlights of the history of the corps from Tun Tavern and Samuel Nicholas through World War II. The museum plans to hold three or four exhibitions each year.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces the award of grants-in-aid of research to the following scholars: Elisha P. Douglass, Elon College, for a study of "Democracy in the American Revolution"; James Kimborough Owen, Louisiana Law Institute, for completion of his study of the "Southern Parish System in the Eighteenth Century"; and William S. Powell, North Carolina Historical Commission, for his life of John Pory.

The winners of the 1950 Bancroft prizes awarded by Columbia University for "distinguished writings in American history" are Lawrence H. Gipson and Herbert E. Bolton. Professor Gipson received the award for his book *The Victorious Years, 1758-1760*, the seventh volume in a series entitled "The British Empire before the American Revolution," and Professor Bolton for his book *Coronado*.

Herbert E. Bolton, professor emeritus of the University of California, has been honored by Pope Pius XII with Knighthood in the Order of St. Sylvester in recognition of his historical research on Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1950 was awarded to Miss D. J. Milne for an essay on "The Results of the Rye House Plot, and Their Influence upon the Revolution of 1688." Essays competing for the 1951 prize must be sent by January 31, 1951, to the Secretary of the Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Frank Aydelotte has retired from the chairmanship of the advisory board of the Guggenheim Foundation. His successor is Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington.

Wallace Notestein, Sterling professor emeritus at Yale University, has been elected corresponding fellow of the British Academy.



Ralph H. Gabriel, Sterling professor of history at Yale, has been appointed visiting professor at Cambridge University for the year 1951-52.

Max Savelle, of the University of Washington, has received a Fulbright grant and is spending six months doing research in Paris on the diplomatic history of America prior to 1763.

Peter E. Brownback has been named assistant to the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in the University of Alabama.

Arthur A. Ekirch, jr., and Donald Derby have been promoted to associate professors of history in American University.

Louis Filler, of Antioch College, has been awarded a Fulbright grant and is teaching during the current academic year in the department of history of the University of Bristol.

Wendell N. Calkins, formerly teaching fellow and tutor in history at Harvard University, has joined the staff of the department of history and government in the University of Buffalo.

Carl Bridenbaugh, who has been director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, is now the Margaret Byrne professor of American history in the University of California, Berkeley.

Andrew Lossky, instructor in history at Yale, is lecturer in history for 1950-51 at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Gordon H. McNeil has been named chairman of the division of social studies and promoted to a full professorship of history at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Paul W. Gates has been appointed to the Goldwin Smith professorship of American history in Cornell University.

George S. McGovern has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history at Dakota Wesleyan University.

J. A. McGeachy, jr., has been promoted to professor of history in Davidson College.

Whitfield J. Bell, jr., has been appointed the first occupant of the newly endowed Boyd Lee Spahr chair of American history at Dickinson College.

The Reverend Nelson Waite Rightmyer, formerly assistant professor of ecclesiastical history in the Divinity School in Philadelphia, is now Mary Wolfe professor of ecclesiastical history in that institution and chairman of the Graduate School of Theology.

Anthony Lee Milnar, formerly of Loyola University of Chicago, has accepted a position at Duquesne University for the current year.

A. Curtis Wilgus, of George Washington University, is on leave of absence during the fall semester to be visiting lecturer in Latin-American history at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Sidney Warren, formerly of the University of Florida and last year Fulbright professor in American history at the University of Durham, has accepted an invitation to lecture in American history at the University of Glasgow for the current year.

Robert L. Wolff, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed associate professor of history in Harvard University, where he has been visiting lecturer during the past year.

Frederick H. Jackson has gone from Marietta College to an instructorship in history at the University of Illinois.

Thomas P. Martin has gone to Indiana University for two years as visiting professor of American history and library consultant on manuscripts.

Stow S. Persons, formerly of the department of history at Princeton, has been appointed a full professor of history in the State University of Iowa.

Clarence Cary Crawford has retired after more than forty years as a member of the department of history of the University of Kansas. In the same institution Orient Lee has been appointed visiting professor of Chinese history, and Oswald P. Backus, Walter S. Robinson, jr., and Ambrose Saricks, jr., have been appointed assistant professors of history.

At Kent State University Sherman B. Barnes has been promoted to full professor of history and Henry M. Whitney and John D. Popa have been promoted to associate professors.

Robert H. Spiro, jr., has been promoted to professor of history in King College, Bristol, Tennessee.

The University of Maryland announces the following appointments to the history staff in the University of Maryland European Centers for 1950-1951: Verne E. Chatelain and Ralph G. Lounsbury to continue as professors; Beverly McAnear of State Teachers College, New Paltz, New York, as associate professor; Jackson T. Main of Washington and Jefferson College as assistant professor; James W. Kerley of Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland, as assistant professor; Kurt Lessen, doctoral candidate at Harvard University, as instructor. David S. Sparks, who has been serving as assistant professor, will return to his duties in the department at College Park. Gordon W. Prange's leave of absence as professor of European history has been extended so that he may continue his duties as chief historian in the G 2 section of the United States Army at Tokyo.

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst announces the promotion of Marie Boas and John K. Zeender to assistant professorships in history and the appointment of John Ashton and Robert A. Potash to instructorships in history.

Lawrence W. Towner has been appointed instructor in history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

William E. Smith has been appointed dean of the Graduate School of Miami University. He will also retain his position as chairman of the department of history.

In the University of New Mexico G. W. Smith has been promoted to associate professor of history; J. E. Longhurst is on leave in Belgium on a Fulbright grant; Madaline Nichols is a visiting professor during the first semester, replacing Dorothy Woodward, who is on leave in Brazil.

Henry H. B. Noss has been promoted to associate professor of history in New York University.

The department of history of Northwestern University announces the promotions of Leland H. Carlson to associate professor and George T. Romani to assistant professor. Richard M. Brace has been given a grant-in-aid by the Social Science Research Council and will be on leave during the spring quarter of 1951 to carry on research in France. Arthur S. Link, the holder of a Guggenheim award, is on leave during the year 1950-51 to continue his research on Woodrow Wilson.

Glenn S. Dumke, professor of history in Occidental College, has been serving as dean of faculty since July 1.

William E. Livezey, of the University of Oklahoma, has been promoted to professor of history. Gilbert C. Fite of the same university is on leave of absence during the current year to write a history of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

John W. Keller has been promoted to professor of history and political science in Oklahoma City University.

Gordon A. Craig has been promoted to professor of history in Princeton University.

Hardin Craig, jr., has been promoted to professor of history in the Rice Institute. Katherine M. Fischer, formerly of Cornell University, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the same institution.

The department of history and political science of Rutgers University announces the promotion of Samuel Clyde McCulloch to associate professor of history and assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the promotion of Ernest William McDonnell to assistant professor of history. Mr. McDonnell has also been granted a fellowship from the Belgian-American Educational Foundation for a year of study abroad. Peter Charanis has been granted a year's leave of absence and will be visiting professor of history at the University of Wisconsin. Sidney Ratner has been awarded a grant by the Rutgers Research Council to work on the economic history of World War II.

Kramer J. Rohfleisch has been promoted to a full professorship in history in the San Diego State College.

Southern Illinois University announces the appointments of Harry Ammon as assistant professor of history and of Jesse C. Kennedy as instructor in history.

John J. Johnson and Wayne S. Vucinich have both been promoted to associate professors of history in Stanford University.

Frederick B. Tolles has been promoted to associate professor of history in Swarthmore College. During the current year he holds a research fellowship at the Huntington Library.

Harry M. Tinkcom has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of history in Temple University.

Fulmer Mood has accepted an appointment as professor of history in the University of Texas.

Edward Younger has been promoted from assistant to associate professor of history at the University of Virginia.

Solomon Katz has been promoted to the rank of professor of history in the University of Washington.

Robert W. Frazer has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Wichita.

In Yale University Hajo Holborn has received a grant from the humanities division of the Rockefeller Foundation for research and is on leave of absence during the first term, and Lewis P. Curtis is on leave of absence for the year. Robert S. Lopez has been promoted to associate professor and Leonard Krieger to assistant professor of history. Rollin G. Osterweis has been appointed assistant professor of history and director of debating and public speaking, Richard L. Walker has been appointed assistant professor in Chinese history, Howard A. Reed has been appointed instructor in modern Near Eastern history, and Frederick G. Kilgour, librarian of the School of Medicine in Yale, has been appointed lecturer in the history of science. John A. Hague, Morrell Heald, and Ralph T. Fisher, jr., have been appointed instructors in history.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Dixon Wecter, Margaret Byrne professor of American history at the University of California at Berkeley, died of a heart attack at Sacramento, California, on June 24. He was born on January 12, 1906, in Houston, Texas. He received his A.B. degree from Baylor University in 1925 and an honorary D.Litt. from his alma mater in 1945. As a Rhodes Scholar, at Merton College, he received the B.Litt. degree from Oxford in 1930. From Yale he received the M.A. in 1926 and the Ph.D. in 1936 in English literature.

Mr. Wecter had taught at the University of Texas, the University of Denver, the University of Colorado, and the University of California at Los Angeles and at Berkeley. In 1945 he served as the first visiting professor of American history at the University of Sidney, Australia, and in 1949 he lectured in various South American cities under the auspices of the State Department. Mr. Wecter held a Huntington Library Research Fellowship in 1939-40 and a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1942-43. From 1943 to 1949 he was a member of the research staff of the Huntington Library, serving for a time as chairman.

Appointment to the Margaret Byrne chair of American history at Berkeley in 1949 marked Mr. Wecter's formal transfer from the teaching of English to the teaching of history. Already he had demonstrated his historical interest and ability in a series of books on social history. His earliest work was *The Saga of American Society* (1937), followed by *Edmund Burke and His Kinsmen* (1939). Next came

*The Hero in America* (1941), his most substantial book, *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1944), *The Age of the Great Depression* (1948), and several lesser publications. When he died he was at work on an edition of Mark Twain's letters and a study of Mark Twain.

The world of scholarship suffered a truly great loss in the death of Professor Max Radin on June 22. Born in Poland in 1880, he was brought to this country as a child of four. His formal education was completed at City College of New York, a law degree from New York University, and a doctorate of philosophy from Columbia in 1909. No such list of degrees conveys an adequate idea of the range and exactitude of his scholarship in law, legal and institutional, and history, ancient and modern. After a brief teaching experience in Columbia and City College he was called to the University of California as professor of law, where he remained from 1919 to 1948 when he retired and joined the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He was a valued reviewer for this journal. His last published article was a sound and judicious article in the *American Scholar* on the controversy between the regents and faculty of the University of California over a loyalty oath.

Robert Pierpont Blake, professor of history at Harvard University, died on May 9 at the age of sixty-three. He was graduated from the University of California in 1908 and earned his doctorate at Harvard in 1916. His teaching career began with an instructorship in ancient history at the University of Pennsylvania (1912-14). In 1919-20 he was professor of Greek in the Georgian State University, Tiflis, Russia. Since 1920 he had served in the department of history at Harvard and as director of the university library (1928-37). His printed works include *Epiphanius de Gemmis* (1934) and contributions to periodicals here and abroad.

John Paul Selsam, professor of European history and head of the department of history of the Pennsylvania State College, died on May 24, 1950, at the age of fifty-one. Born in Emigsville, Pennsylvania, on September 29, 1898, Dr. Selsam received his bachelor of arts degree from Franklin and Marshall College and his master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees from Princeton University. He also received a *certificat d'assiduité* from the Académie de Droit International de la Haye, and a diploma from the Institute Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales. After serving from 1925 to 1928 as instructor of history and political science at Franklin and Marshall College, Dr. Selsam became manager of the Publications Sales Office for the League of Nations. In 1934 he was director for the Civil Works Administration Survey of Historical Source Material and in 1935-36 was deputy director of the National Youth Administration for Pennsylvania. He joined the staff of the Pennsylvania State College in 1936 as professor of European history, and in 1948 was named head of the history department.



Dr. Selsam made an extensive study of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and of attempts to form an Anglo-French alliance. He published numerous papers in historical periodicals and was a member of this Association.

Harley A. Notter, adviser to the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs in the Department of State, died suddenly in Washington, D.C., on June 18, 1950, at the age of forty-seven. Dr. Notter completed his graduate work at Stanford University, spent two years in Amherst, Massachusetts, where he assisted Ray Stannard Baker in the preparation of his biography of Woodrow Wilson, and went on from there, in 1937, to the Department of State. His thirteen years of State Department service were devoted mainly to his continuing interest in international organization. In November, 1944, he was made adviser in the Office of Special Political Affairs and remained in the same capacity in the successor Office of United Nations Affairs until the time of his death. Among the many international conferences in which Dr. Notter took part as official adviser were the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on General International Organization in the fall of 1944 and the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945. He served also as adviser to the United States delegation in the first and second sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. From January, 1947, onward Dr. Notter lectured regularly on United States diplomacy and foreign policy at the School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. He was author of *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (1937) and of *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945*, published by the Department of State in 1949.

Sister Regina Mercedes Rigney of the College of Mount Saint Vincent died on April 23, 1950. She had taught history in that college for twenty-five years and was for some time chairman of the department.

Word has come of the death in Caracas, Venezuela, on March 12, of Rudolf Dolge. A few years ago on the anniversary of his fiftieth year as a resident of Caracas, Mr. Dolge was given a nation-wide tribute. Mr. Dolge's eminence in the cultural world was based on his deep interest in Venezuelan history and its heroes, as well as on the collection and preservation of historical materials about them. His own unsurpassed collection of newspapers, manuscripts, and books was presented to Venezuela in 1942. Of him a friend said it was difficult to know whether to address him as "the most Venezuelan of Americans or the most American of Venezuelans."

### Special Late Notice

Members of the Association planning to attend the December meeting in Chicago and wishing room reservations in the Stevens Hotel, headquarters for the meeting, should write directly to the hotel as soon as possible. The hotel is not providing cards for room reservations to be sent with the program of the meeting.

# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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## *Principal Office*

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MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1949: 5511. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship*, awarded annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$500 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (last award: December, 1949).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$100, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize*, without stipend, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$5.00. Life membership is \$100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

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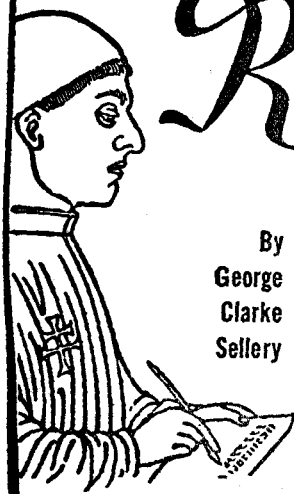
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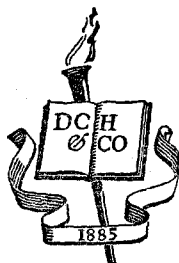
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<i>Albrecht-Carrié</i> , ITALY FROM NAPOLEON TO MUSSOLINI, by Kent Roberts Greenfield	103
<i>Reinhardt</i> , GERMANY: 2000 YEARS, by Ferdinand Schevill	104
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<i>Münch</i> , BÖHMISCHE TRAGÖDIE, by Otakar Odložilík	106
<i>Lyashchenko</i> , HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF RUSSIA TO THE 1917 REVOLUTION, by Frederick L. Schuman	108

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<i>White</i> , THE SIBERIAN INTERVENTION, by Frederick F. Moore	109
<i>Lasker</i> , HUMAN BONDAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Fay-Cooper Cole	111

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<i>Bridenbaugh</i> , THE COLONIAL CRAFTSMAN, by Leonard Price Stavisky	112
<i>Gregorie</i> , RECORDS OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1671-1779, by William Wirt Blume	113
<i>Crane</i> , BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S LETTERS TO THE PRESS, 1758-75, by Edmund S. Morgan	114
<i>Roelker</i> , BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND CATHARINE RAY GREENE, by George Harmon Knoles	115
<i>Young</i> , FORGOTTEN PATRIOT: ROBERT MORRIS, by John C. Miller	116
<i>Boyd, et al.</i> , THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, Vol. I, 1760-76, by St. George L. Sioussat	118
<i>Kimball</i> , JEFFERSON: THE SCENE OF EUROPE, by Christopher Crittenden	122
<i>Koch</i> , JEFFERSON AND MADISON, by Thomas Perkins Abernethy	123
<i>Brant</i> , JAMES MADISON: FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1787-1800, by John T. Horton	124
<i>Piette</i> , LE SECRET DE JUNÍPERO SERRA, FONDATEUR DE LA CALIFORNIE-NOUVELLE, 1769-84, by Peter Masten Dunne, S. J.	126
<i>Williamson</i> , VERMONT IN QUANDARY, 1763-1825, by Clarence W. Rife	127
<i>McCormick</i> , EXPERIMENT IN INDEPENDENCE: NEW JERSEY IN THE CRITICAL PERIOD, 1781-89, by Merrill Jensen	128
<i>Cadman</i> , THE CORPORATION IN NEW JERSEY, by Oscar Handlin	129
<i>Winther</i> , THE OLD OREGON COUNTRY, by Charles M. Gates	130
<i>Miller</i> , THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS: AN ANTHOLOGY, by Louis Filler	131
<i>Wayland</i> , ANDREW STEVENSON, DEMOCRAT AND DIPLOMAT, by Frank L. Owsley	133
<i>Coulson</i> , JOSEPH HENRY: HIS LIFE AND WORK, by Waldemar Kaempffert	134
<i>Henry</i> , THE STORY OF THE MEXICAN WAR, by Charles Winslow Elliott	136
<i>Lewis</i> , CAPTAIN SAM GRANT, and LETTERS FROM LLOYD LEWIS, by Kenneth P. Williams	137
<i>Eaton</i> , A HISTORY OF THE OLD SOUTH, by Leonard W. Labaree	139
<i>Knight</i> , A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860, Vol. II; <i>Orr</i> , A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GEORGIA, by S. Willis Rudy	141
<i>Schultz</i> , NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1852-60, by Margaret L. Coit	142
<i>Patrick</i> , THE OPINIONS OF THE CONFEDERATE ATTORNEYS GENERAL, 1861-65, by William M. Robinson, jr.	143
<i>O'Connor</i> , HOOD: CAVALIER GENERAL, by Fred Harvey Harrington	145
<i>Sandburg</i> , LINCOLN COLLECTOR, by David C. Mearns	145
<i>Wittke</i> , THE UTOPIAN COMMUNIST: A BIOGRAPHY OF WILHELM WEITLING, by Arthur E. Bestor, jr.	148
<i>Current</i> , PINE LOGS AND POLITICS: A LIFE OF PHILETUS SAWYER, by Herman J. Deutsch	150
<i>King</i> , MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, by F. S. Philbrick	151
<i>White</i> , SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA, by J. H. Hexter	152
<i>Dulles</i> , LABOR IN AMERICA, by Sumner H. Slichter	154
<i>Madison</i> , AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS, by George B. Engberg	157
<i>Brown</i> , CANADA, by Carl Wittke	158
<i>Bonnault</i> , HISTOIRE DU CANADA FRANÇAIS (1534-1763), by A. L. Burt	159
<i>Cleverdon</i> , THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN CANADA, by Louise M. Young	160
<i>Levillier</i> , AMERICA LA BIEN LLAMADA, by John Francis Bannon, S.J.	161
<i>Tannenbaum</i> , MEXICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND BREAD, by Arthur S. Aiton	163
<i>Duggan</i> , THE AMERICAS, by Charles C. Griffin	164

## Other Recent Publications

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES	166
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